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**THE**  
**CORRESPONDENCE**  
**OF**  
**THE RIGHT HONOURABLE**  
**SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, BART.**



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THE  
CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, BART.

WITH  
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HAVE APPEARED IN GREAT BRITAIN, AND IN FOREIGN  
COUNTRIES, DURING THE LAST FIFTY YEARS.

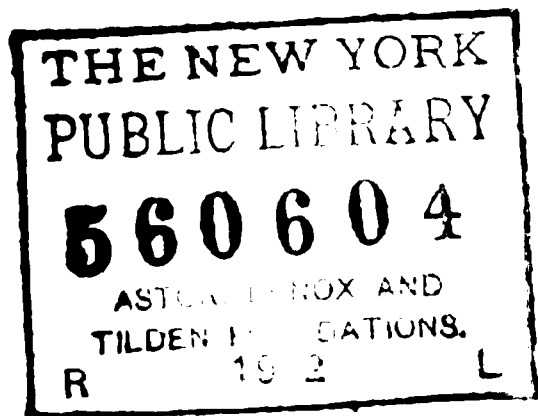
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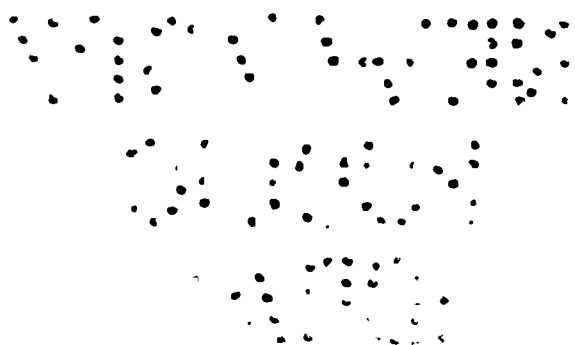
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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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An old and much respected friend, the Abbé Gregoire, Bishop of Blois, recently sent me the History of the First French Convention, with the following inscription, written in English with his own hand :

“ Presented by the Author, *To the most indefatigable man in Britain ; and to the man in Europe of the greatest acquaintance.*”

To be “ *indefatigable*,” is a characteristic of the Scottish nation ; and a person who, for so many years, has been incessantly occupied with public transactions,—has been engaged in such extensive inquiries,—and has travelled so much in foreign countries, must have “ *a very numerous acquaintance.*” The inscription, therefore, was in some degree appropriate, though strongly expressed, and heightened by foreign courtesy.

But, besides a mere acquaintance, there is perhaps no *private individual*, who has carried on a more extensive correspondence, with so great a number of distinguished characters, both at home and abroad. The truth of this will appear by the following selection from my *Domestic Correspondence*, and the reminiscences

connected with it ; and by the second volume, containing my *Foreign Correspondence*, which, for the purpose of better elucidation, I propose shall be accompanied by a general view of my travels on the Continent.

Some may be inclined to censure the apparent egotism of a publication, which has necessarily led to the mention of many anecdotes and circumstances, in which the Author was personally interested, and to a detail of whatever services to his country he conceived himself to have performed. But I was apprehensive, that no other individual, was likely to undertake the labour of arranging the correspondence of a life, now extended to seventy-seven years, or could do it with equal advantage ; and I felt unwilling to risk the destruction of so many documents, expressing the opinions of a number of the most distinguished characters, both of the present and the last generation, on a variety of interesting topics, and containing several important facts and disclosures, which throw new light on the history of the times.

The extent to which I have enlarged upon my own public labours, will readily be excused by the candour of the reader, who will reflect, that being naturally led to touch upon this subject, I could not but be anxious to set forth, to the best advantage, any exertions I have made for promoting the national interests, during more

than half a century, and of submitting them, both to the consideration of my friends who are still living, and to the judgment of impartial posterity.

I shall only add, that it must be much more desirable to peruse a number of letters, written by a great variety of persons, than a collection which comes from the pen of the same individual. In the latter case, there must be a monotony in point of style and sentiment ; whereas in the former, especially if accompanied by explanations of the character and history of the writers, and a detail of the circumstances which led to the transmission of each separate communication, there is likely to be found, a succession of topics, both novel and interesting.

It is hoped, therefore, that the plan of the present work, will meet with the approbation of the public.

133. George Street, Edinburgh,  
June 1830.

JOHN SINCLAIR.



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Hints as to Autographs.

Autographs from the Letters contained in this Collection.

Ossianic Air, said to be the most ancient Piece of Music extant.



## INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS,

EXPLANATORY OF THE SUBSEQUENT CORRESPONDENCE, AND  
CONTAINING A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR AND HIS  
WRITINGS.

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As it is desirable to have some acquaintance with the history of an author, previous to the perusal of his works, and more especially as it would be hardly possible, either to enter into the spirit, or to understand the nature, of the letters communicated to him, unless the reader be previously furnished with some biographical details, I have thought it necessary briefly to narrate the following particulars :

### I.—BIRTH AND PARENTAGE OF THE AUTHOR.

I was born at Thurso Castle, in the county of Caithness, North Britain, on the 10th of May 1754. My father, George Sinclair, Esq. was a highly respectable country gentleman, who had been educated under the charge of the celebrated Dr Isaac Watts, and had travelled abroad, in company with Lord Sandwich, (the Cabinet Minister), President Dundas, and other distinguished characters. My mother, Lady Janet Sutherland, was sister of William, Earl of Sutherland, descended from one of the most ancient families and titles in Scotland. She undertook the charge of the family estate, and



superintended the education of her children, who lost their father when I was only in my sixteenth year.

## 2.—EDUCATION AND PROFESSION.

The foundation of my classical knowledge was laid at the High School of Edinburgh. I afterwards attended the Universities of Edinburgh, of Glasgow, and of Oxford, and have ever since been persuaded of the advantages of *a diversified education*, it being evident, that a person may thus obtain a knowledge of the world, and may, at the same time be instructed, in the several branches of study to which his attention is to be directed, without the one acquisition being injurious to the other. In 1775, I became a member of the Faculty of Advocates, and was afterwards called to the English bar, without intending to practise, either there, or in Scotland, but merely from a conviction, that he who is likely to become a legislator, should be acquainted with the laws of his country, and that every man should have a profession. By these means I acquired, at an early period of life, a numerous acquaintance.

## 3.—IMPROVEMENT OF THE FAMILY ESTATE, AND THE DISTRICT IN WHICH IT IS SITUATED.

It is impossible for any, but those who have been compelled to make the attempt, to conceive, the numerous difficulties to be encountered, when any endeavour is made, to carry on improvements in a remote and previously neglected district, where every thing is to be done, and where a great variety of new, and important objects must, at the same time, be attended to. They who live in a part of the island that has already made considerable progress, cannot form an idea of obstacles which must be surmounted,—when towns and villages must be erected, as centres of communication and business,—when roads and harbours must be made, for the sake of domestic and foreign intercourse,—when manufactures or fisheries must be established, to provide employment for the surplus population, which an improved system of agricul-

ture, and the enlargement of farms, necessarily occasion,—and when new breeds of animals, new instruments of husbandry, and persons skilled in new modes of cultivation, must be introduced from distant parts of the kingdom. It is possible, however, by unceasing attention, and at much expense, successfully to carry on these various objects at the same time. The one, indeed, has a tendency to promote and to encourage the others. The spirit that is excited by the improvement of one article, rouses a similar spirit of energy in regard to others ; and a new race of people is gradually formed, who, from a state of torpor, ignorance, idleness, and its concomitant poverty, are animated to exertion and inquiry, and impelled, to obtain by their industry, the acquisition of wealth. The various obstacles to improvement above enumerated, existed, in their full force, in the remote county of Caithness, the most northerly on what may be called the continent of Scotland, being within sight of the Orkney islands. When a spirit of improvement, however, was once introduced there, it was followed up with great energy, in regard to various departments, which may be classed under the following heads : 1. Roads and bridges ; 2. The erection of villages and towns ; 3. The establishment of manufactures ; 4. Improvements in agriculture ; and, 5. The extension of the fisheries. In carrying on these improvements, I necessarily took a lead, being the principal proprietor, and the representative of the county in Parliament, but in their progress, had the advantage of being powerfully supported by several respectable proprietors, in particular by the late Earl of Caithness the Lord Lieutenant, and by James Traill, Esq. of Hobbister, the Sheriff of the county, who is much distinguished for his public spirit and intelligence. As it may be of use in other districts, I shall briefly state the different measures which were then taken, for the benefit of Caithness, under these several heads.

1. *Roads*.—These are essential for the improvement of any country ; but it was not easy to introduce them into a district

where the climate was wet, and the soil unfavourable. The making of them was first attempted by enforcing statute labour, every individual being obliged by law, to work at the roads for six days in the year ; but this system was found to be inefficient \*. An act was therefore procured, for converting the statute labour into money ; and afterwards, even turnpikes have been introduced. To assist in making the principal roads and bridges, some public aid was procured ; and with such zeal has this great means of improvement been entered into, that an act has been procured this year, (an. 1830), by which Caithness, considering its extent, will be better accommodated with roads than any county in Scotland.

2. *Erection of Villages and Towns.*—No district can thrive, unless villages and towns are established in it. A scattered rural population, must have a market for the sale of their commodities, and a place where they may be supplied with the articles they require. In this respect, the county of Caithness, prior to the year 1770, was extremely deficient. Thurso was merely a small fishing village ; and Wick had only a few hundred inhabitants ; and these were the only two collections of houses in the whole country. To remedy this great disadvantage, I have commenced a new town at Thurso on an improved plan, which though it has not made much progress from the want of a harbour, is nevertheless a great ornament to its neighbourhood. Villages were founded at Halkirk and Sarclett, and at Castleton and Louisburgh, by two respectable proprietors on whose estates they are situated. But a settlement, made by “ The British Fishing Society,” at Pul-

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\* There was a hill called the Benechiel, situated in the centre of the county, the carrying a road through which was considered to be impracticable. In order to give the country people an idea, of what might be effected by exertion in making communications easy, a road was lined out, above twelve hundred people were collected early in a morning in July, supplied with tools and provisions, and the whole extent was made in *one day*. This convinced the people of what might be effected, in regard to road making, by unanimity and exertion, and was the first circumstance, that gave me an idea of the practicability of effecting objects on a *great scale*. A road, however, made so rapidly, could not be durable.

teney-town, near Wick, has thriyen to a degree, which has excited the admiration of all who have seen it \*.

3. *Manufactures.*—Some branches of manufactures, on a small scale, were likewise established in Caithness. The linen trade was promoted by the erection of a bleachfield; and a woollen manufacture was set on foot, with a view of promoting the new village of Halkirk. A tannery, a brewery, and a manufacture for agricultural implements, were established at Thurso; and, in September 1800, the magistrates of that town, and the gentlemen in its neighbourhood, unanimously voted an address to their representative, “acknowledging with gratitude, that amidst other pursuits of a more extensive tendency, the improvement of his native county had been the peculiar object of his care and attention.”

4. *Agricultural improvements.*—A considerable portion of Caithness being naturally fertile, rural improvements became, of course, the principal objects of my attention. Their introduction, however, was an herculean labour. It was necessary to change the whole system of cultivation; to bring the fields into a regular shape, and inclose them; to promote draining; to introduce the culture of turnips, and of sown grasses; and to improve the quality of the grain. All this has been done so effectually, in the neighbourhood of Thurso, that there is not a finer, or better cultivated tract of country, in any part of Scotland. Nothing, however, has contributed more to the improvement of the hilly parts of Caithness, and of the neighbouring districts of Sutherland and Strathnaver, than the introduction of the Cheviot breed of sheep, and of south country shepherds and farmers into the north. In the course of these important undertakings, for improving both the live stock, and the husbandry of Caithness, I was under the necessity of enlarging a number of farms, and of removing a number of ignorant and useless occupiers, which oc-

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\* A plan of Pultney-town was drawn up by Mr Telford, on a scale which it was supposed would have taken *generations* to fill up. But it has been already completely built upon; and an extended plan has been found requisite, the demand for ground to erect additional houses being so great.

casioned an invidious attack in the English newspapers. This produced a public declaration from the Lord Lieutenant, and the other gentlemen of the county, stating, in strong terms, the high sense they entertained of the agricultural services I had performed to my native county.

5. *Fisheries*.—This branch of industry has reached a degree of prosperity in Caithness, beyond all expectation, principally owing to the harbour at Wick, for the erection of which, I procured a grant of £.7000 from the forfeited estates in Scotland. There never was a sum so well bestowed. The herring fishery carried on in the town of Wick and its neighbourhood, exceeds any thing hitherto known in Scotland. A scene of industry is here displayed, no where to be surpassed. Along the eastern coast of Caithness alone, not less than fifteen hundred boats go out in an evening to carry on the fishery, and above a hundred decked vessels have been seen in the harbour at once, besides twenty or thirty at anchor in the bay. Above 200,000 barrels are caught in the season, the very refuse of which will manure several hundred acres of land. A new harbour is nearly completed, the old one being too small to accommodate the number of vessels that flock to it from various parts of Scotland, England, and Ireland. Indeed some vessels have come from Cornwall, and even from France, and the Hanseatic Towns, to prosecute the fisheries here. Nothing is wanting, but the erection of a breakwater at the entrance into the Bay of Wick, to render this remote district, the greatest scene of improvement perhaps in Europe \*.

The result of these endeavours was in the highest degree satisfactory, and was attended with this extraordinary circumstance, that on an accurate comparison between the two last national enumerations in 1821, and the preceding one in 1810, the remote county of Caithness surpassed all the other eighty-

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\* The labour of the convicts could not be so advantageously employed, as in the erection of this breakwater, for the advantage not only of the fisheries, but of the general commerce of the country; for the Baltic trade might find shelter there in the stormy seasons of the year; or, in time of war, could be protected from the risk of capture, till they could receive a convoy.

five districts of the kingdom, in regard to that great criterion of national prosperity, (where it is properly regulated and employed), increased population \*.

#### 4.—IMPROVEMENTS IN SCOTLAND.

It would be tedious to enter into the various measures adopted for promoting the improvement of Scotland in general, by completing a statistical survey of that country,—by publishing reports of the agricultural state of every district in it,—by the establishment of a society for the improvement of British wool,—and by being the means of procuring parliamentary grants for constructing roads, and erecting harbours, in various parts of the country, under commissioners specially appointed for that purpose.

A sense of the advantages derived from these exertions, appears to have been so generally felt, that, at different public meetings, the thanks of the following twenty, out of the thirty-three counties in Scotland, were voted to me :

*List of the several Counties in Scotland, where the Freeholders and Landowners, at their Michaelmas Head Courts, an. 1814, returned their thanks to the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart. for his public services.*

Aberdeen	Caithness	Elgin	Kirkcudbright
Argyle	Clackmannan	Fife	Perth
Ayr	Cromarty	Forfar	Ross
Banff	Dumbarton	Haddington	Selkirk
5. Berwick	10. Dumfries	15. Inverness	20. Sutherland.

#### 5.—IMPROVEMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, AND ON THE CONTINENT.

Having succeeded in obtaining the establishment of a Board of Agriculture, and being nominated its President, I was thence enabled to promote the improvement, not only of Eng-

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\* The increase in some of the counties was at the rate of 1 and 2 *per cent.*, but Caithness was the only district in the kingdom, where it amounted to 29 *per cent.* The West Riding of Yorkshire, the highest in England, was only 21 *per cent.*

land and of Ireland, but of all the dependencies of the British empire, in both hemispheres. Indeed, being considered in other countries, as a person who had peculiarly devoted his attention to the prosperity of agriculture and other useful pursuits, I had the honour of receiving, on that account, the most flattering testimonials of respect, from a greater number of public institutions in foreign countries, than probably has fallen to the lot of almost any other individual.

*List of foreign Diplomas sent to Sir John Sinclair.*

Countries.	Institutions.
1. France.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Royal Society of Agriculture at Paris.</li> <li>2. Dijon Academy of Sciences, Arts and Belles Lettres.</li> <li>3. The Society of Sciences and Arts at Lisle.</li> <li>4. Society of La Seine Inferieur, at Rouen.</li> <li>5. The Central Society of the <i>Department du Nord</i> in France.</li> </ul>
2. Flanders.	6. Agricultural Society of Ghent.
3. Prussia.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Royal Academy of Berlin.</li> <li>8. Brandenburg Economical Society.</li> </ul>
4. Austria.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. Agricultural Society of Vienna.</li> <li>10. Imperial Royal Agricultural Society of Styria.</li> </ul>
5. Saxony.	11. Leipsic Agricultural Society.
6. Wurtemberg.	12. Wurtemberg Board of Agriculture.
7. Germany.	13. Agricultural Society of Zell.
8. Sweden.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>14. Royal Society of Stockholm.</li> <li>15. Academy of Agriculture at Stockholm.</li> </ul>
9. Denmark.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>16. Royal Agricultural Society of Denmark.</li> <li>17. Literary Society of Iceland.</li> </ul>
10. Russia.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>18. Imperial Agricultural Society of Moscow.</li> <li>19. Free Agricultural Society of Russia.</li> </ul>
11. Italy.	20. Florence Agricultural Society.
12. United States.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>21. American Academy of Arts and Sciences.</li> <li>22. Historical Society of New York.</li> <li>23. Philadelphia Society of Agriculture.</li> <li>24. The Maryland Agricultural Society *.</li> </ul>
13. West Indies.	25. Agricultural Society of Santa Cruz.

\* Nothing could be more gratifying to a person ambitious of reputation, as a benefactor to his fellow creatures, than the approbation of the rising empire of America. To have my Code of Agriculture reprinted in that country,—to have excited there a degree of attention to that useful science, *never felt in it before*,—to have been the means of establishing a Board of Agriculture in the United States,—and to have been the correspondent of Washington, on subjects connected with the culture of the soil, are sufficient to gratify the ambition of any one who has devoted himself so much to the pursuits of agriculture.

It is singular, the strong manner in which foreigners have expressed their respect for the Author of the Code of Agriculture, by bestowing on him the following epithets :—" *Le Premier Agronome de l'Europe* ;"—" *le Patriarche de l'Agriculture Angloise* ;"—" *le Grand Prêtre de Ceres* ;"—" *et le Heros de l'Economie Rurale*."

## 6.—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

In 1780, when in the twenty-sixth year of my age, I was unanimously elected the representative of my native county of Caithness, and continued a member of the House, with the exception of a short interval, till July 1811, a period of nearly thirty years. I then resigned my seat, and was succeeded by my eldest son, George Sinclair, Esq. Caithness being only alternatively represented in the British Parliament, I was, whilst its turn of representation ceased, chosen for the boroughs of Lestwithiel in Cornwall, and of Petersfield in Hampshire.

During the time I was a member, I brought forward a number of useful measures, which I either proposed myself, or prevailed on the minister to adopt.

In 1782, I was the means of procuring public aid, for rescuing from the horrors of famine, a tract of country, in the northern parts of Scotland, inhabited by no less a number than 110,000 souls; and by the measures then taken, the progress of disease, misery, and famine was happily arrested.

In 1793, I proposed in Parliament, the establishment of a Board of Agriculture, an institution over which I presided a number of years, and to which the country is in a great measure indebted, for its rapid advancement in rural and agricultural affairs. A common fortress was thus erected for the benefit of all agriculturists, to which each, as the circumstances of the case might require, could resort for advice and protection. By means of this institution, reports were drawn up, describing accurately the agricultural state of every county throughout the united kingdom;—above 2,200,000 acres were added to the cultivation of the kingdom,—and several useful laws were enacted.

During the scarcity that prevailed in 1795-6, I made a motion in the House of Commons, for the appointment of a select committee, to inquire into the state of *the waste lands of the kingdom*; and strongly recommended a general bill of inclosure, “to preclude the recurrence of a similar calamity in future; to cut up famine by the roots; to prevent its again



appearing within the boundaries of these islands; and by which, the granting of any bounties on the importation of foreign grain, might be rendered unnecessary." All these great objects, I maintained, might be effected, *by cultivating the waste, uninclosed and unproductive lands of the kingdom.* But after a bill for the attainment of this important measure had passed the House of Commons, it was thrown out by the Lords.

I exerted myself successfully, to improve the laws regarding the highways of the kingdom, and to introduce a better system of police in regard to public conveyances; and it is a circumstance highly gratifying to me, that the reports presented by me to Parliament, were the means by which the system of the celebrated Macadam, was originally recommended to public attention.

In 1797, the minister proposed to give to the subscribers, to what was called the loyalty loan, a long annuity of 7s. 6d. *per cent.* After a division in favour of that measure, and when every one considered any farther opposition as useless, I successfully opposed it in the next stage of the bill, and was thus the means of saving above half a million sterling to the nation.

On my suggestion, in 1793, Mr Pitt proposed in Parliament, the appointment of Parliamentary Commissioners, to manage the issue of Exchequer bills, for the relief of the commercial interest, a plan which was found peculiarly useful at that critical period. I was nominated one of the Commissioners, and greatly promoted the success of the measure.

For these various public services, I was promoted, under the administration of Mr Perceval, to the rank of a Privy Councillor, and was afterwards appointed Cashier of the Excise in Scotland, an office incompatible with a seat in Parliament\*.

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\* By living on the salary of this office, (£.2000 *per annum*), and applying the whole rents of the family estate, in discharging the incumbrances affecting it, I have been enabled to pay debts contracted in promoting the improvement of the country, without materially diminishing the amount of the original estate.

## 7.—MILITARY EXERTIONS.

In compliance with the wishes of Government, in 1794, I raised a Regiment of Fencibles, consisting of 600 men, the first of that description of force levied for the service of Great Britain, Fencible corps having been formerly restricted to the defence of Scotland. I afterwards raised another battalion of 1000 men for the service of Ireland. These corps behaved in so exemplary a manner, as to receive, both from the general officers who reviewed them, and the districts where they were quartered, the strongest testimonies of their good behaviour and services\*. Two hundred and twenty soldiers belonging to the second battalion, volunteered to join the expedition to Egypt, a greater number than was furnished by any regiment on that memorable occasion.

## 8.—THE PROMOTION OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

There is no duty more incumbent upon a person anxious to promote the prosperity of a country, than to encourage those public institutions which are established for useful purposes. I became a member, therefore, of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies of London,—of the Royal Society of Scotland,—of the Society for the Extension of the British Fisheries,—and of a variety of institutions, calculated to further agricultural and other improvements. I also took an active part in the establishment of two insurance companies in London, “*The Globe*,” and “*The Rock* ;” with a view of enabling persons, possessed of incomes depending on their own lives, to provide for their wives and families. I was partial to the establish-

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\* These regiments were so well regulated, by a peculiar system which I had adopted, and such attention was paid to their health, as to excite the astonishment of those, whose duty it was to examine into their state. When the 1st battalion was disbanded at Burntsfield Links, near Edinburgh, by General Vyse, *there was not a sick man in the whole corps* ; every individual was able to bring his arms to the field, and deliver them in person. When the 2d battalion was reviewed at Cork, by the late Lord Lake, there was scarcely a sick man upon the list ; and the noble Lord declared, “*That though he had often heard before of regiments of a thousand men, he had never seen one, till he had reviewed Sir John Sinclair’s corps of Highlanders.*”

ment of corporations, and other public institutions of a similar nature, were it only as furnishing the means of calling forth exertions, and rewarding merit. The unwearied labours of Mr Arthur Young, to promote the agricultural improvement of the country, would have remained without any public recompense, had not the establishment of the Board of Agriculture given me an opportunity of recommending him to be secretary of the new institution; and the public, in a great measure, owe the discoveries of a Davy, to the formation of the Royal Institution, which Count Rumford founded, but which was placed on a permanent footing, by an act which I was the means of carrying through Parliament.

#### 9.—LITERARY LABOURS.

The following is a short account of the most important literary works I have published, either written by myself, or drawn up by others under my directions.

1. Observations on the Scottish Dialect, in one volume octavo, printed at Edinburgh, an. 1782. This work was drawn up, with a view of diminishing, as much as possible, the distinction between the two nations, in regard to language. In Chap. 4, the plan of “a British Code of Laws” was first suggested, (in the preliminary observations to an explanation of the difference between the legal words and phrases of the two countries); and the authority of Bacon is quoted in support of the plan of “*a judicial union* \*.”

2. Lucubrations during a short recess, with some Thoughts on the Means of improving the Representation of the People. Printed at London 1782. This tract was answered by the first Lord Camelford, and by others, in a manner extremely flattering to the Author.

3. Thoughts on the Naval Strength of the British Empire, in answer to the late Lord Mulgrave, then one of the Lords of the Admiralty, in which the grounds of the superiority of the British Navy, over that of France, are explained. This tract was also printed anno 1782.

4. Considerations on Militias and Standing Armies, printed anno

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\* See Lord Bacon’s Speech concerning the Union of Laws, and his excellent observations on the Union between England and Scotland. See also Mr Justice Barrington on the Ancient Statutes, Appendix, p. 499.

1782; containing some observations on the propriety of establishing a Militia in Scotland, a measure which was afterwards adopted.

5. A tract, entitled, "The Propriety of retaining Gibraltar impartially considered." Printed anno 1783. This being published anonymously, was, by many, attributed to the first Lord Camelford.

6. In 1791, I printed an Address to the Landed Interest, on the Corn Bill then depending in Parliament.

7. Having published in 1783, "Hints on the State of our Finances," in answer to Dr Price and Lord Stair, I was afterwards led to engage in a laborious undertaking, that of writing a history of the public revenue of the British empire, from the most remote eras, to the conclusion of the war terminated by the treaty of Amiens. The third edition of this work, including an analysis of the sources of public revenue, was printed in three volumes octavo, anno 1804.

8. In 1802, I printed a volume of Miscellaneous Essays on Agriculture, and other topics. In this volume, I discussed, for the first time, the subjects of health and longevity, to which I afterwards paid such particular attention.

9. It was in the year 1790, that I began that great and laborious undertaking, "The Statistical Account of Scotland," which, after a correspondence during the space of seven years, with all the clergy of Scotland, amounting to nearly one thousand, I was fortunately able to complete in the year 1799, and it is now published in twenty-one volumes octavo. An analysis or compendium of the whole, has since been published, in one volume octavo, as the best foundation of a Code of Political Economy. In reference to this work, the celebrated Malthus, in his Essay on the Principles of Population, states, "That the valuable accounts which the Author of the Statistical Account of Scotland has collected in that part of the island, do him the highest honour, and will ever remain an extraordinary monument of the learning, good sense, and general information of the Clergy of Scotland. That work, with a few subordinate improvements, and accurate and complete registers for the last 150 years, (which however no diligence could have effected), would have been inestimable, and would have exhibited a better picture of the internal state of a country, than has yet been presented to the world." (See the edition of Malthus's Essay, ann. 1803, p. 13, note.)

10. In the year 1795, I drew up for the Board of Agriculture, an account of the northern districts of Scotland, namely, the counties of

Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney, and Shetland ; and previously to my quitting the presidency of the Board, by unwearied exertions, the agricultural survey of the whole kingdom of Great Britain, in ten volumes quarto, was completed. These original surveys were not published, being only considered as a foundation for the corrected reports of the different counties, the whole of which have since been printed, under the auspices of the Board, and under my immediate direction ; an undertaking of unparalleled labour, the reports being written by a number of individuals, (with each of whom it was necessary to carry on a correspondence), and the whole work comprehending about “ SEVENTY VOLUMES ” octavo.

The General Report of Scotland, drawn up from these county reports, in so far as they regarded the northern part of the kingdom, was printed in five volumes octavo ; and was intended as an example, for the publication of a similar work in England.

11. I have also printed a work in four volumes octavo, entitled, “ The Code of Health and Longevity,” which furnishes ample information regarding these interesting topics. From the celebrity which it attained, the first volume, which contains the substance of the whole inquiry, has already been translated into several languages on the Continent, and has gone through four editions in this country.

12. Nor have I been inattentive to the department of poetry. It is well known, that the existence of Ossian, the celebrated Celtic bard, had long been the subject of dispute ; *and that the possibility of producing the Gaelic originals*, of the poems which M’Pherson had published in English, was positively denied. The originals having come into the possession of the Highland Society of London, I was placed, by that respectable Society, at the head of a committee to superintend their publication ; which, after surmounting many difficulties, was at last accomplished. To this curious and important publication, there is prefixed a dissertation, in which I have proved, on the most convincing evidence, that M’Pherson was only the translator, and not the author of “ Ossian’s Poems.” Some of this evidence (as the existence of a manuscript of Ossian, at the college of Douay, previous to M’Pherson’s publication), I was the means of bringing to light.

13. At the desire of my friend, Sir Joseph Banks, I composed a work on the Husbandry of Scotland, the object of which was, to explain to the farmers of England, the agricultural practices of Scotland.

some of which may be found entitled to adoption in several districts south of the Tweed. To render the work more complete, I thought it necessary, not only to correspond with all the most intelligent farmers in Scotland, but also to visit the more improved districts, and to inspect the different farms in person, along with the farmers by whom they were cultivated. The result of so extensive and so careful an investigation has proved highly beneficial.

14. The answer I published to the report of the Bullion Committee, was esteemed of considerable public importance. The Committee had recommended, that the Bank of England should be again compelled to resume its payments in cash. Being convinced of the impracticability of enforcing such a plan, and the mischief that would result, were the adoption of it even to be attempted, I was induced to prepare "An Answer to the Report of the Committee;" which, coming from one who had paid so much attention to these subjects, and the doctrines which it contained, being supposed analogous to those which were entertained by his Majesty's Ministers, tended materially to dissipate any alarm regarding the solidity of our paper currency, and to establish a deep conviction, of the necessity of maintaining it unaltered, at least till the war had terminated.

15. For some time past, my attention has been chiefly occupied, in anxious endeavours to explain to the country, the mischiefs that would result, from the establishment of a metallic currency, and the admission of foreign grain. The system which I endeavoured to inculcate, was contained in this short maxim, "That no country can be either happy at home, or respected abroad, unless it is independent of all other countries for *circulation* and *food*." I am persuaded that those ministers who act on different principles, are convinced of the superior policy of the system which they support, by an adherence to which they are satisfied, that they are most effectually promoting the public interest, though their system has not hitherto produced the advantageous consequences they expected from it \*.

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\* The following is a list of my literary undertakings, containing, not only those written by myself, but those drawn up by others, under my directions, and edited by me :

## 10.—TRAVELS.

There are few individuals who have travelled more through foreign countries, or at a period of life, when greater advantage is to be reaped from visiting them. In the course of those foreign journeys, I had an opportunity of obtaining information regarding two points of considerable moment. The first was, the nature of the improved machines for coining money, invented by Monsieur Droz, a native of Switzerland. They were at that time unknown in England. I prevailed on M. Droz to explain his plans to Mr Boulton of Birmingham, and was thus the means of introducing this superior mode of coinage into the British Mint.

I brought over, at the same time, discoveries of still greater importance. Having become intimate with Monsieur Clouet, Director of the Royal Establishment for making gunpowder at Paris, I prevailed upon him to explain the nature

1. *Personal Works.*

	No. of volumes.
1. Observations on the Scottish Dialect, .....	1
2. Various Tracts on the Navy, the Militia, &c. ....	1
3. History of the Revenue, .....	3
4. Miscellaneous Essays, .....	1
5. Husbandry of Scotland, .....	2
6. Tracts on the Bullion Question, .....	1
7. Tracts on the Authenticity of Ossian, .....	1
8. Code of Health, (first edition *), .....	4
9. Code of Agriculture, .....	1
10. Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland, .....	1
	<hr/>
	16

2. *Works in general drawn up by others, but printed under my directions.*

1. The Statistical Account of Scotland, .....	21
2. County Agricultural Reports, in quarto, .....	10
3. The County Reports of England and Scotland, in octavo, .....	70
4. The General Report of Scotland, .....	5
	<hr/>
	106
	<hr/>
Total number of volumes, .....	122

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\* It is now reduced to one volume octavo.

of some very important processes in that manufacture, which were thus speedily introduced in this country.

In 1786-7, I took a very extensive journey through the northern parts of Europe, which it was necessary to complete in seven or eight months, or between the end of one session of Parliament, and the commencement of another.

An abstract of this journey is given in the following table :

1786.	Sept. 23. Arrived at Kiew.
May 29. Left London.	Oct. 1. ——— at Warsaw.
30. Embarked at Gravesend.	17. ——— at Vienna.
June 16. Landed at Gottenburgh.	Nov. 8. ——— at Berlin.
22. Arrived at Copenhagen.	Dec. 5. ——— at Amsterdam.
July 11. ——— at Stockholm.	23. ——— at Brussels.
Aug. 1. ——— at Riga.	29. ——— at Paris.
8. ——— at Petersburgh.	1787.
Sept. 10. ——— at Moscow.	Jan. 16. ——— at London.

In all, about seven months and a half.

The whole extended to about 7500 English miles. However short the time may appear, yet I found it possible, by great activity and perseverance, even in so short a period as from seven to eight months, to see the objects the best entitled to attention, and the persons the most distinguished for their power, their beauty, or their talents, in the greater, and, (what is justly accounted), the most interesting part of Europe.

In the course of this journey, I established a correspondence with the celebrated Count Hertzberg of Prussia, Count Bernstoff, Prime Minister to the King of Denmark, Count Marcoff, the Russian Minister, M. de Buffon, and many of the most distinguished literary and political characters on the Continent. Of these travels, some account will be given in the second volume of this correspondence.

#### CONCLUSION.

*On the Plans which are still in the Author's Contemplation.*

After so many years of incessant labour, the publication of so many works, on such a variety of subjects, my having re-



cently entered into the seventy-seventh year of my age, and having so numerous a family as thirteen children, and fourteen grand-children, many would recommend a life of retirement and repose ; but various reasons have induced me to resolve on a different plan.

1. I find that a life of inactivity and idleness is the most irksome of any ; and I am persuaded that an active mind degenerates, unless some great objects be kept in view ; 2. From the attention I have paid to the subjects of health and longevity, I find that I am still capable of great exertion, either personal or mental : and, 3. I have for some time been employed in collecting the materials of some works, as the Author of which I wish to have my name handed down to posterity, looking upon those I have hitherto published, with two exceptions, (the Codes of Agriculture and Health), as of inferior value. On all these grounds, I have been induced to undertake completing what I call “ *The Codean System of Literature*,” comprehending four great works : 1. A Code or Digest of Agriculture ; 2. A Code of Health and Longevity ; 3. A Code of Political Economy, founded on statistical inquiries ; and, 4. A Code or Digest of Religion.

The two first of these works having been already printed, only require to be revised ; and the materials of the two latter having been collected, and a plan for drawing them up having been arranged, the principal difficulties in regard to their publication have been surmounted.

133. George Street, }  
Edinburgh, 1830. }

*Sir John Sinclair's Correspondence.*  
Vol. I.

*"Autographs".*

*"Of several distinguished characters, whose communications are contained in this collection, with the page of the Work where their letters are mentioned."*

*1. Imperial & Royal Correspondents.*

No.		Vol. I. Page.
1.	<i>Paul.</i> (Emperor of Russia)	10
2.	<i>Stanislas Auguste</i> (King of Poland)	22
3.	<i>Charles. Jean,</i> (Bernadotte) King of Sweden	32
4.	<i>Federick</i> (Duke of York)	50
5.	<i>Edward</i> (Duke of Kent)	55
6.	<i>Oscar</i> (Prince of Sweden)	58
	<i>Louis Philippe D'Orléans</i> (Duke of Orleans)	60

## 2. British Cabinet. Ministers.

		Vol. I. Page.
W. Pitt	(afterwards Earl of Guildford)	74
<u>Landmill</u>	(Earl of)	76
Stromont	(Viscount)	78
W. P. A.	(The Right Honorable)	81
C. J. Fox	(The Right Honorable)	92
<u>Melville</u>	(The Right Hon. Henry Dundas Lord Viscount)	100
Adams	(The Right Honorable)	104
<u>Castlereagh</u>	(The Lord Cast., afterwards The Marquis of Londonderry)	115
W. Canning	(The Right Honorable)	117
Loughborough	(Lord, afterwards The Earl of Riplyn)	124
Dunham	(Lord Chancellor)	126
<u>Lonsdown</u>	(The First Marquis of)	129
Hastings	(The Marquis of)	133
Whitman	(The Right Honorable)	137

3. Female Correspondents.

22 Prince de Dashkoff  
(The Prince Dashkoff)

23 Honor (Duchess of Gordon)

24 Lady Craven (Lady Craven)

25 Maria Edgeworth (Miss Edgeworth)

4. Naval & Military Correspondents.

26 Kappell (Lord Kappell)

27 St. Vincent (Earl St. Vincent)

28 Nelson Toronts (Lord Viscount Nelson)

29 Duncan (Lord Viscount Duncan)

30 Kuth (Admiral Lord Viscount Kuth)

31 Barkham (Lord Barkham)

32 Home Popham (Sir Home Popham)

33 The Romanoff (Marshal Romanoff)

Sadounsky (Sadounsky)

## 2. British Cabinet. Ministers.

		Vol. I. Page.
8.	<u>W. Pitt</u> (afterwards Earl of Guildford) .....	74
9.	<u>Sandwich</u> (Earl of) .....	76
10.	<u>Stromont</u> (Viscount) .....	78
11.	<u>W. P. A.</u> (The Right Honorable) .....	81
12.	<u>C. J. Fox</u> (The Right Honorable) .....	92
13.	<u>Melville</u> (The Right Hon. Henry Dundas Lord Viscount) .....	100
14.	<u>Perreval</u> (The Right Honorable) .....	104
15.	<u>Castlereagh</u> (The Lord Cast., afterwards The Marquis of Londonderry) .....	115
16.	<u>H. Canning</u> (The Right Honorable) .....	117
17.	<u>Loughborough</u> (Lord, afterwards The Earl of Epsom) .....	124
18.	<u>Perth</u> (Lord Chancellor) .....	126
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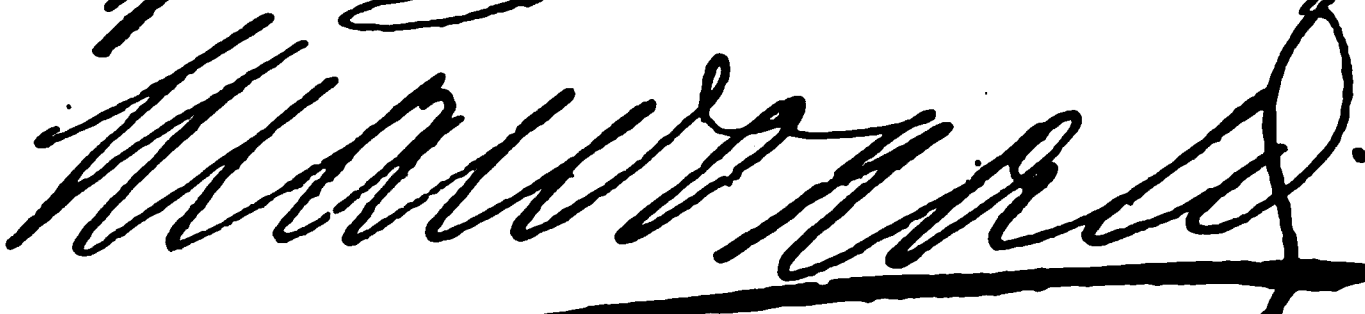
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22. Princess de Dashkoff  
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23. Horvath (Duchess of Gordon)
24. Elizabeth Craven (Lady Craven)
25. Maria Edgeworth (Miss Edgeworth)

4. Naval & Military Correspondents.

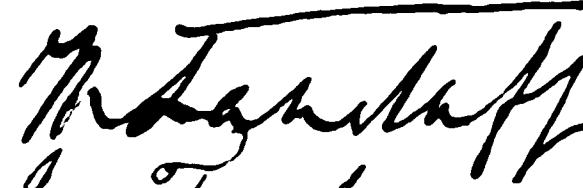
26. Keppel (Lord Keppel)
27. St Vincent (Earl St Vincent)
28. Nelson (Lord Viscount Nelson)
29. Duncan (Lord Viscount Duncan)
30. Nath (Admiral Lord Viscount Nath)
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**PART I.**

**IMPERIAL AND ROYAL**

**CORRESPONDENCE AND REMINISCENCES.**



# IMPERIAL AND ROYAL

## CORRESPONDENCE AND REMINISCENCES.

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### I.

#### THE EMPEROR JOSEPH.

##### *Audience of the Emperor Joseph, and Remarks on his Private and Public Character.*

ON the 22d October 1786, I had the honour of being presented to the Emperor Joseph, then in the 45th year of his age. The hour was early, (eleven o'clock). There was very little ceremony at his court. Some guards were stationed in the anti-rooms; but there were very few persons in waiting, and only one chamberlain. I was presented by that eminent diplomatic character, Sir Robert Murray Keith, the British Ambassador at Vienna.

The Emperor was alone. The first question he asked, and one which was usually put by him to all strangers, was, "*D'où venez-vous ?*" I answered, "*De Russie,*" as I understood that he preferred talking of Russia rather than of Poland. "*Vous avez fait un grand voyage dans le Nord,*" he rejoined, having, it seems, heard of my recent travels. He then inquired, what route I had taken through Russia to Vienna? What I thought of the fertility of the Ukraine? &c. He next spoke of his bro-

ther the Archduke, and of his voyage to England, and mentioned how much he and the Archduchess were gratified with their reception in that country; adding, *That they preferred London to Paris*. He said, that the Archduke had seen at Portsmouth, “*une chose unique*,”—4000 pieces of cannon ranged together. The audience lasted for about half an hour. The conversation principally regarded Russia, but he also made some inquiries regarding the agriculture of England. I had been forewarned by Sir Robert, that the usual signal of an audience being over, was for the Emperor to rub his hands. Upon observing that signal we withdrew.

The Emperor had nothing striking in his appearance, and would have passed unobserved, either in the street, or in a drawing-room. I found, that a higher idea of him was entertained in England than abroad, at least where I heard his character talked of. At the same time, there were many favourable circumstances in his private character, which I have much pleasure in enumerating.

He was bred in the school of adversity; for his mother, the Empress Queen, kept him at a great distance, allowing him but a very limited income, and giving a decided preference to another brother, his junior, who died young. This treatment the Emperor often talked of as a very fortunate circumstance, as it taught him many useful habits. It prevented him from growing either indolent or effeminate. He became, on the contrary, remarkable for punctuality in business, and endeavoured to have every moment usefully employed. “I must make up, (he used to say), for the three years I lost in my father’s antichamber,” where his constant attendance was required, and where he was kept in waiting until every other person was dismissed. He was accustomed, however, to enter by far too much into minutiae, which is derogatory to the dignity of a sovereign. Even the old shoes and stockings of his troops were very strictly looked after. He was distinguished for activity. In the summer of 1786, without any necessity, he went a journey of 3000 English miles. He

took twenty persons with him, of whom thirteen were laid up, with various complaints, in consequence of so fatiguing an expedition, and he himself was in a very indifferent state of health for some time after his return.

He was very attentive to matters of police. The principal towns were well lighted, and under good regulation. All over his dominions the roads were in excellent order, and as good as in England, with barriers or turnpikes. The inns were very tolerable, and they had good horses and drivers. Robberies very rarely happened, and travellers went with equal safety by night as by day, through all parts of his dominions, with the exception of the Bannat of Transylvania, where no traveller was secure, unless he was conducted from one village to another by armed peasants; to insure whose fidelity, they were made answerable for the safety of their charge, *with their lives*.

He was reckoned by his own subjects severe, and even *hard-hearted*. He has been known to aggravate, and not to mitigate the sentences of courts-martial; and, in consequence of his express orders, they have been compelled to increase the punishments they had ordered. He abolished, however, in a great measure, the punishment of death, and malefactors were condemned to clean the streets, working in chains, which, to persons of humanity, was a spectacle of a most disagreeable kind.

He obtained great popularity by receiving petitions, even from his meanest subjects, at a certain place in the palace appointed for them to stand at, and to which he came personally by a private passage. Sometimes the finest young women in Vienna attended, under pretence of having grievances to be redressed. This often gave occasion for scandal. But he always said that he was determined to keep no mistress, lest she should acquire an ascendancy over him; and, as to debauching women of condition, he thought such practices in the highest degree unworthy of a sovereign.

He occasionally mixed in private society, where he appeared to great advantage, being an entertaining and agreeable

companion ; in particular, an excellent story-teller. He was always ready, (having a carriage and horses in waiting), to attend *in person*, in case of fire, or any other accident ; and some poor people, being on one occasion likely to be drowned in the Danube, a cobbler said, “ He would bring the Emperor to save them ;” which he actually did, much to the monarch’s credit.

He occasionally amused himself with discussing the modern philosophical discoveries in regard to the nature of air, &c. with the celebrated *Dr Ingenhouze* ; and he behaved with much generosity to the famous *Baron Born*, having permitted him, not only to publish his discoveries in mineralogy, but to teach persons, from any foreign country, their nature and effects. In private life, therefore, his character was greatly superior to what it was usually considered to be.

His public character was not so respectable. He was full of projects of aggrandizement, in which he never succeeded. He first attempted to conquer Bavaria, but immediately drew back at the threats of the Prussian eagle. He next intended to open the Scheldt, but gave up that idea when France declared itself hostile to the project ; and he likewise renounced his intention of exchanging the Netherlands, in consequence of the bold, decisive, but judicious opposition he met with from “ *The Germanic League*.” It is certain that he was anxious to signalize his reign by some important conquest ; and for that purpose he entered into the most intimate connexion with the Empress Catherine, with a view of conquering Turkey, and dividing its European dominions between them.

As to England, he had conceived some strong prejudices against it, in so much, that when any of his subjects wished to visit it, he generally refused them leave.—“ What is there to be seen in that country,” (he said), “ that may not be seen elsewhere ?” He afterwards, however, altered his tone. He permitted Count Bergen and his son to proceed to England, in the summer of 1786 ; and when the Archduke and Archduchess had visited the country, and given a very flattering ac-

count of their journey, the Emperor expressed a wish that he had been of the party.

During the encampment in 1786, he one day sent for Colonel Gordon, a respectable English officer, to sit next him at table, and had much interesting conversation with him. He told him, "Your King does not like Germany, at least Upper Germany. Had I been well used by England, it might have depended upon my friendship, *and it would never have lost America.*" He certainly might have prevented France from aiding the revolted colonies, without which they would scarcely have persevered in the contest, or succeeded in the attempt. Nothing could exceed the negligence of the English government to its diplomatic concerns with the court of Vienna. Sir Robert M. Keith assured me, that for weeks his letters remained unanswered; and he wished that his court would only send him large packets of old newspapers, the receipt of which would have given him some consequence in the eyes of the Austrian government; whereas he was sometimes, for weeks together, without receiving any communication whatever.

Is it to be wondered at, that, with such culpable negligence, our foreign affairs should, in those times, have been unsuccessfully conducted?

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## II.

### THE EMPRESS CATHERINE.

#### *Audience of the Empress Catherine, and Reminiscences of her Character.*

On the 25th August 1786, I had the honour of being presented to this great sovereign. The court commenced about half past eleven. The rooms were filled with about 400 courtiers. At twelve the Empress came from her private apartments to go to mass. A lane was made for her and her



suite. She was preceded by the Princess Dashkow and six or seven other ladies. The reason why there were no more present, was, that the ladies only came when the court was held in the evening, unless when they attended officially. Count Czernichew, vice-president of the admiralty, took me to the chapel to hear mass. It was a very poor building for such a ceremony; but the priests, with their long beards, and rich vestments, made a striking and imposing appearance. The Empress stood by herself, and went through all the ceremonies with great decorum. When the service was over, I went to the hall where strangers were introduced, and was presented to Prince Potemkin. He was tall, (about six feet two,) and distinguished, not only by his height, but by the strength and manliness of his appearance. His countenance was not unpleasant, when he was disposed to be agreeable. He entered with great affability into conversation with me, which was uncommon at a first introduction. He spoke with much contempt of the King of Sweden. He afterwards talked of my intended journey to Poland, where he had great estates; and expressed a wish that I should give him some advice how to improve them. The return of the Empress being announced, the foreign ministers, and those strangers who had been already presented, kissed her hand. I was then introduced by Count Osterman. She asked me how I came to Petersburg?—if I had had a pleasant voyage?—and added, that she hoped I would find my stay in Russia agreeable. A Swedish officer, and some of her own subjects, were afterwards introduced; but she spoke to none of them. In short, I found, that I had met with what was considered to be a most gracious reception, as she hardly spoke to any, but persons of considerable distinction. The court had fallen off much from its ancient splendour. To check the spirit of luxury and expense, provincial, and even official uniforms had been introduced, and none but foreigners were richly habited.

The mode of living adopted by the Empress was extremely regular. She rose between six and seven, and dedicated the

morning entirely to business. She dined about one, and after dinner retired to her cabinet. The evening was devoted to amusements of a general nature, either at the theatre, or in the palace, with a select company of her private friends.

Her information, particularly in regard to political subjects, was very general and extensive. The instructions *written by her own hand*, for drawing up a code of laws, is a most extraordinary performance for a woman ; being, I believe, the only instance extant of female judicial legislation \*. I have seen her correspondence with the famous Buffon, which proves how well she was acquainted with philosophical subjects. She knew the French belles lettres perfectly, and, in 1786, was reading Shakespeare in the German translation. She also wrote comedies herself ; and in any part of the world would have been accounted, in private life, a most accomplished woman.

Her skill in government was great. In any progress through her dominions, she suffered the meanest peasant to address her ; and they universally called her by the friendly and emphatic name of *Matouskin*, or Mother. To the army, and to the guards in particular, she was very attentive ; and on certain fixed days dined at a table with the officers of the different corps. Neither was the church neglected ; for besides much attention to individuals of character and respect in that order, and a strict performance of all the outward forms of religion, she proved her zeal and devotion, by working, *with her own hands*, as the priests believed or asserted, the most magnificent vestments, for the use of the principal ecclesiastics of her empire, when they celebrated public worship on any important festival.

She had a number of personal favourites, to whom she was very liberal. She was particularly attached to Landskoi, and attended him personally during his sickness, like a wife.

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\* Upon examining the original MS., which is carefully preserved in the repositories of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, I observed, that the whole of it was not published. The following paragraph, in particular, upon the subject of marriage, was omitted : “ Les filles sont assez portées au mariage. Ce sont les garçons qu’il faut encourager.”

She was, for some time, as inconsolable for him as Elizabeth of England was for Essex. It is said, that he was the handsomest man that could be seen; but naturally of so weak a constitution, that he was unable to support the life of a courtier. Potemkin made the quickest of all possible journeys from the Crimea, in order to console her. He came in a *kibicki*, or common cart, the whole way. Rushing into her apartment, he said, "What is the matter with my Empress?" and when she answered, that she was weeping for the death of Landskoi, he replied, "Why, he was a fool." "Ah!" said the Empress, "but he had an honest heart."

To her ministers she was very liberal, and in general followed their advice, except when she chose to let them feel, that there were times when she preferred being both her own, and their mistress. When left entirely to herself, and compelled to determine on matters of importance, it is said that she was apt to betray some versatility and weakness.

When I visited her court, she was puffed up, beyond all bounds, by the success of her reign, and the consideration in which she was held by every power in Europe. She certainly in her heart preferred the English to the French, and the Danes to the Swedes. In regard to the Germans, it was more from personal attachment to the Emperor, and their joint views upon Turkey, than from a full conviction of the policy of the measure, that she preferred the Austrian to the Prussian alliance.

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### III.

#### THE EMPEROR PAUL.

*Letter from his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke of Russia, afterwards the Emperor Paul, to Sir John Sinclair, respecting the Statistical Account of Scotland, and the Improvement of Wool.*

J'ai reçu, Monsieur, avec votre lettre du 15. Mai, l'Etat Politique de l'Ecosse, et les questions sur les différentes

espèces de brebis, dont je vous fais mes remerciemens ; et en applaudissant aux vues d'utilité que ces pièces renferment, je suis, Monsieur, avec une très parfaite estime,

Votre affectionné,

PAUL \*.

Zarscocoelo,  
ce 17. Juillet 1792, }  
V. S.

A Monsieur John Sinclair, Whitehall, Londres.

*Account of a Visit paid by Sir John Sinclair to the Emperor Paul, when Grand Duke of Russia, at his Palace of Pauloski, on the 31st of August 1786.*

I arrived at Pauloski, (25 versts † from Petersburg), at twelve A. M. About one I had the honour to be introduced to the Grand Duke and Duchess, and met with a most gratifying reception. An hour after we sat down to dinner. I was placed opposite the Grand Duke and Duchess, that we might converse more freely ; and as the table, for the sake of greater sociality, was remarkably narrow, (with only one row of dishes in the centre), there was peculiar facility in carrying on conversation. During dinner, the Grand Duke said, that he greatly preferred the Scotch breed of horses, and wished me to procure for him a horse from that country. I begged to mention, that there were various breeds in Scotland, and

\* Translation.

SIR,

I have received, with your letter of the 15th of May, your account of the Political State of Scotland, and your remarks on the various species of sheep, for which I return you my thanks ; and applauding your attention to the useful objects to which these papers relate, I am, with the most perfect esteem,

Your affectionate,

PAUL.

Zarscocoelo,  
17th July 1792, }  
Old Style.

To M. John Sinclair, Whitehall, London.

† About 19 English miles.

that it was impossible for me to judge which sort his Imperial Highness meant, unless I saw the one he preferred. He was thence induced, when dinner was over, to order his favourite charger to be brought to the court-yard, where he mounted him, and, with evident satisfaction, shewed all his paces \*.

In the afternoon, I had the honour of attending the Grand Duke and Duchess over their grounds, which were laid out according to the improved English system. We passed a field of barley, of the sort called in Scotland bear or big, which was then ripening, and the Grand Duchess, pulling one of the ripest ears, said, "Sir, take this ear, and try if such grain will grow in your country." Unfortunately the ear was lost before I arrived in Scotland. They pressed me with much earnestness to stay supper, and all night. Previous engagements, which I could not dispense with, prevented my accepting this flattering invitation ; but I shall always recollect, with peculiar pleasure, my visit to Pauloski.

The figure of the Grand Duke was not much in his favour. He was rather diminutive in size, and his nose and face were flatter than is usual in the more southern parts of Europe. He had indeed a good deal of the Tartar in his physiognomy. The expression of his countenance, however, was not then so unpleasing as it afterwards became, when his furious passions, which had been kept under complete subjection by maternal authority, burst forth. In consequence of some unguarded speeches he had made, the Empress behaved to him with great coolness at that time, and would hardly permit his name to be mentioned in her presence. His two eldest sons, Alexander and Constantine, (the little Grand Dukes, as they were called), were educated entirely by the Empress, and were constantly with her, being in a manner retained as hostages for their father's fidelity.

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\* I afterwards found that the horse was thorough bred, and had been purchased from Mr Angelo, the riding-master at Edinburgh. I endeavoured, when I returned to Scotland, to get such another horse, but unsuccessfully.

The Grand Duke had, with much prudence, decidedly discouraged some hints artfully insinuated, that it was full time for him to demand possession of the Crown from his mother, who had evidently usurped it. “ I will never furnish my son,” (he said), “ with any apology for conspiring to dethrone me.” This wise determination was in a great measure owing to his preceptor, Count Panin, who had public spirit enough, when on his deathbed, to send for the Grand Duke, and conjure him, by every thing he held dear and sacred, never to attempt dethroning his mother. “ Russia,” he said, “ had already suffered sufficiently by past revolutions ; and were they not now put a stop to, they might never cease.”

The Grand Duchess, (Maria, daughter of Eugene, Duke of Wirtemberg), was, when I saw her, beautiful in the extreme, and remarkable for the superior elegance and fascinating affability of her manners. The Empress Catherine was very jealous of her superior beauty, and could not bear that the Grand Duke and Duchess should rival their Sovereign, in the decorations of their palaces,—the disposition of their grounds,—the ornaments of their gardens,—or any splendid display of taste.

It is highly gratifying to me to recollect, that I never met any where with a more gracious reception than at Pauloski. The master and mistress of a private gentleman’s family could not have been more attentive. It was a pleasing spectacle to see the future possessors of so great an empire, living at their country residence, in the unostentatious style of any noble family ; and as fond of showing their crops, temples, cascades, grottoes, &c. to an entire stranger, as if they had nothing else to boast of.

## IV.

## AUDIENCE OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.

*Letter from the Count Lieven, the Russian Ambassador at the British Court.*

Count Lieven presents his compliments to Sir John Sinclair, and begs to inform him, that the Emperor will receive him to-morrow, (Tuesday), at three o'clock P. M. at the Pulteney Hotel.

Harley Street, }  
Monday, 20th June. }

The Emperor was alone in his cabinet, when I was presented, (June 21. 1814), dressed in a green uniform, with an open, pleasant, and good-humoured countenance, and with an appearance manly and interesting. He did not seem in the least affected by all the fatigues he had undergone, though I saw him in the morning after the grand ball at White's. He understood English when addressed to him, and spoke it without hesitation, but preferred conversing in French.

He said, on my entrance, "That he was happy to make the acquaintance of one who had paid so much attention to agriculture." On my mentioning, "That I had once had the honour of seeing his Imperial Majesty at St Petersburg;" he asked, "If I should have known him now?" To which I answered, "That it was in the year 1786, twenty-eight years ago, when he was only about nine years of age, and that the change since was very great." He then said, "That the culture of hemp was the great object of Russian agriculture, and that he wished much to know, whether any improvements had been made in regard to that article, or flax?" I answered, "That very great discoveries had recently been made, in the culture and preparation, both of hemp and flax. It was ascertained, that after the flax seed was sown, if double the quantity of *common salt*, in proportion to the seed

sown, were strewed over the surface of the ground, a crop, in every other respect treated in the usual manner, would be greatly increased in quantity, and improved in quality." I had brought with me specimens of flax of that year's growth, cultivated both with and without salt, which he examined, and was surprised at the evident superiority of the *salted*, over the unsalted flax. I then said, "It was believed that salting hemp would answer equally well."

I next stated, "That great improvements had likewise been made in preparing hemp and flax, which rendered it unnecessary to steep these plants in water, a tedious and hazardous process. By the new plan, no risk was incurred, the colour was better, and the whole strength of the fibre was preserved." He seemed very much pleased with the specimens shewn him of these improvements.

I then produced samples of the *patent machines* for carding flax or hemp, invented by one Stead, near Edinburgh, which completed all the operations necessary, preparatory to the spinning process. He said that he had seen, he thought, some invention of the same nature, since he had arrived in England. He farther stated, that any improvements in the culture or preparation of hemp were of such importance to his dominions, that he requested me to send an account of them as soon as they occurred; adding, that he would not pretend to much knowledge of these branches himself, but that he wished to keep the specimens, to communicate to some intelligent persons, with whom he consulted regarding those points.

The subject to which I next called his Majesty's attention, was the Statistical Account of Scotland, in which he appeared to take much interest. He examined minutely the tables in which the climate of Scotland was treated of; the extent of ground cultivated and uncultivated; the number of acres under the different crops; the produce of each, &c. &c. He seemed much pleased with these details; requested a copy of the tables; and regretted that it had not been in his power to visit that country.



I then explained to his Majesty the nature of the “*Statistical Pyramid*,” by which inquiries were first carried on upon a broad basis, beginning with every parish in a kingdom, then narrowed to each county or province, and ultimately condensed into a general view of the political circumstances of a country ; a mode of obtaining information which he seemed to consider as of a superior description.

The conversation having turned on the military services of Scotland, his Majesty pronounced a warm eulogium on that well-known corps, “*The Scotch Greys*,” which had frequently attended him. He said, that it was impossible to have a finer corps in any service. He then asked, whether all the horses in the regiment were bred in Scotland. I answered, “Not all ; but that Scotch horses were preferred when they could be got.”

Upon my taking leave, he said, “That he regretted much the shortness of his stay in England, which prevented him from paying the attention he would otherwise have given to inquiries of an agricultural nature ; but that he would always be happy to hear from me regarding those subjects, through the medium of his ambassador, the Count Lieven.” The audience, which occupied about thirty minutes, gave me a very high idea of the Emperor’s politeness as a gentleman ; of his anxiety for the acquisition of useful knowledge ; of his zeal to promote the improvement of his dominions ; and of his fitness for the exalted station in which he was placed.

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## V.

### GEORGE THE THIRD.

His late Majesty, (George III.), occupied a farm at Windsor, to which he paid much attention. He certainly was more attached to the pursuits of agriculture, than any of his predecessors on the throne of England, of which the following letter, regarding the proceedings of the Board of Agriculture,

written by the Honourable R. F. Greville, his private Secretary, *by his Majesty's command*, and addressed to me, as President of the Board, furnishes very striking evidence.

*Letter written by his Majesty's Command.*

SIR,

I had the honour of receiving yours from Edinburgh of the 23d instant, and had the honour this day of presenting to his Majesty, the letter inclosed and directed to him. His Majesty, in answer to it, was pleased to command me to say, that he much approves of the proceedings of the Board of Agriculture, and the zeal with which you, as their President, have forwarded them. His Majesty was also pleased to add, that he considers the success of the Board of Agriculture, as a concern which very essentially interests the general good of the community at large, and that he shall consider every person who comes forward with his assistance on this business as contributing importantly to the good of his country.

I am further commanded by his Majesty to inform you, that he thinks, during the time you are sending to those, whose abilities have pointed them out to your notice, as proper persons to assist you in the final execution of the work, that you would do right to digest thoroughly the plan of the whole, under the chapters you mention; and when you have finally settled (to your satisfaction), with them the General Report, his Majesty is pleased to say, that he shall be glad to look at the heads of the chapters of a work, which, when completed, promises such general improvement to the interests of his kingdoms, and to which the attention of the Board of Agriculture is so constantly directed.

The names also of the gentlemen who come forward, in assisting you in arranging the General Report, will, I am also commanded by his Majesty to say, be very acceptable.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and faithful servant,

ROBT. F. GREVILLE.

Weymouth, 29. Aug. 1794.

In the year 1810, I was sworn in a Member of his Majesty's Privy Council. I received on Tuesday morning, the 28th of August, (the day after my arrival in London from Scotland), a letter from Lord Viscount Chetwynd, clerk of the Privy Council, informing me, that a Council was to be held at Buckingham House the next day, when my presence was required. My carriage having been a good deal injured by my recent journey, I requested Mr Secretary Ryder to take me to Court, which he very readily agreed to ; and he called upon me for that purpose, on Wednesday, about half past two o'clock. On the King's arrival at three o'clock, the persons present in the levee room were marshalled according to their rank, and respectively introduced to the King by Lord St Helens, the Lord in waiting. When it came to my turn to be spoken to, his Majesty inquired when I had come from Scotland ? What was the state of the crops there ? Whether the harvest had begun ? &c. He added, that he had heard a great deal of the husbandry of East Lothian, and of Berwickshire ; and that even the English travellers had described to him the agriculture of those two counties as approaching to perfection. He then made particular inquiries into the state of the crops in Caithness, and whether wheat was grown in that northern region. His Majesty had at this period entirely lost his sight ; but his deportment was dignified,—his recollection perfect,—and his anxiety for acquiring useful information undiminished.

When the levee was over, the King and his Ministers retired to the Council Chamber. I was then called in, and found his Majesty sitting with his Privy Councillors around a long table. There was a velvet cushion on the floor near the table, on which Lord Chetwynd told me I was to kneel and take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. When that ceremony was performed, I took the Privy Councillor's oath standing, and after kissing the King's hand, and shaking hands with every Member of the Council, I took my seat at the board.

The Councillors present were Lord Camden, Lord Wellesley, Lord Liverpool, Mr Perceval, Mr Secretary Ryder, Mr Yorke, Mr Robert Dundas, Sir David Dundas, and Mr Manners Sutton, the Judge Advocate. The common routine of business was gone through; in particular, any recommendations to mercy, in behalf of condemned criminals, were considered. The appointment of Mr Gordon, as Governor of Berbice, was then brought forward, and he was called in to take the oaths in presence of his Majesty in Council, which closed the business \*.

The persons who attended the levee were all in black. The King was in purple, which is the royal mourning, and forms a handsome costume. He had become considerably slower in his mode of putting questions, a change which lessened considerably the diffidence and embarrassment of those with whom he conversed. From the state of confirmed blindness into which he had fallen, there was no likelihood of his recovery, as any operation, at his time of life, must have been attended with considerable danger; yet it was highly gratifying to see his Majesty in perfect health and spirits, and apparently as likely to live for some years, as any individual, of the same age, in his dominions †.

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Towards the conclusion of the year 1786, and the commencement of 1787, I had taken a long tour throughout the northern parts of Europe. Soon after my return, having requested the honour of an audience of his Majesty, I received from the Duke of Roxburghe, then groom of the stole, the subjoined intimation, that an audience would be granted on the succeeding levee day.

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\* In the Appendix, No. I, will be found some congratulations from distinguished characters, proving how favourably Sir John Sinclair's appointment to be a Privy Councillor was received by the public.

† His Majesty died on the 29th January 1820, in the 60th year of his reign.

The Duke of Roxburghe presents his compliments to Sir John Sinclair, and acquaints him, that his Majesty will grant him an audience on Friday next.

Hanover Square, }  
Wednesday Evening. }

On being admitted into the Royal Closet, the King asked a number of questions regarding the various countries I had travelled through, but seemed particularly anxious to know the state of Sweden, where, in the summer of 1786, a total change of government had very nearly taken place. I stated, that the reports which had been circulated, regarding the critical situation of the Swedish monarch, at that time, were perfectly well founded, and that, had it not been for Count Fersen, a nobleman of Scottish extraction, (his name being properly Macpherson), who enjoyed at that time the greatest power and influence in Sweden, and by whose exertions the Diet was prevented from proceeding to extremities, there must have been another revolution in that country, and the aristocratic system would have been restored. His Majesty's reply was remarkable. "The King of Sweden," (he said), "would have deserved his fate; *for the sovereign of a limited monarchy, if he is an honest man, will never aim at the acquisition of despotic power.*"

The subject of America was accidentally introduced in the course of this conference. His Majesty took occasion to declare, "That he considered the American war as a war for maintaining the rights, not of the Crown, but of the Parliament; that the Americans had acknowledged the supremacy of the Crown, but had denied the authority of Parliament; that he lamented much the separation of the two countries, but having acknowledged the independence of the colonies, he would never countenance any plan for disturbing their government, or bringing them back to their old allegiance." These sentiments, spontaneously uttered, and expressed with warmth, and, as far as I could possibly judge, coming from the heart,

sufficiently prove, that *strict honesty, inflexible integrity, and a regard for the free constitution he had sworn to maintain*, were distinguished traits in the character of George the Third.

His Majesty expressed a wish, that I should draw up, for his perusal, a short account of the political circumstances of the several countries I had visited in the course of my tour, and more especially of the three northern powers, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia. This was done accordingly; and the substance of the information therein contained is prefixed to my correspondence with a number of the most distinguished characters in those countries \*.

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The situation of a Monarch is, in general, much envied; but little is it considered, to what vexations and miseries kings are exposed. George the Third once replied, when a certain person wished him joy on the return of his birth-day, "Do not congratulate me on the commencement of another year of *my weary pilgrimage*."

This Monarch was remarkable for his abstemiousness,—a habit which may be partly attributed to the following circumstance: When his uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, the conqueror at Culloden, was on his deathbed, he sent for his nephew, and said to him, "You see the miserable state to which I am brought by an inordinate fatness. It is a family tendency, which nothing but great abstemiousness can prevent. Take, then, the dying advice of an affectionate kinsman and friend, and live with the greatest care and moderation. It is the only means by which you can avoid being brought to the unhappy condition to which you see me reduced." The death-bed admonition of a much respected relation, left a strong impression on the young Sovereign; and, in order to prevent this constitutional tendency, he made it a rule to take violent exercise, and to live with the strictest abstinence †.

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\* This information will be found in Volume Second.

† The Duke of Cumberland died of apoplexy, on 31st October 1765, aged only 45.

## VI.

## STANISLAUS, KING OF POLAND.

I arrived at Warsaw on the 14th of October 1786, and next day had the honour of being introduced to the King. He was then in the 54th year of his age, about five feet nine inches in height, stout, and good looking, but not so handsome as I had expected. His manners were refined; but he may be described, rather as an amiable and accomplished gentleman, than an able statesman, fit to rule a nation, more especially in times of difficulty. He had a great desire to distinguish his government by something that might be useful to his country, to compensate for the misfortune of having reigned when the partition of Poland took place. His life had in it much more of distress than of pleasure; and he said himself, that he had enjoyed few "*beaux momens*" during his reign. Among his happiest hours was that, when the Diet, in consequence of a speech he made from the throne, unanimously granted, amidst cries of *Vivat, Vivat*, six millions of florins for establishing an academy of cadets at Warsaw.

When I was introduced, he said, that the name of *Sinclair* was well known to him, and, in particular, the Sinclairs of Sweden. He also mentioned the assassination of a Major Sinclair in Poland by the Russians, which occasioned a war between the two countries. He was remarkably agreeable in conversation, and said the most obliging things in the most courteous manner possible: For instance, "He regretted that my stay was likely to be short;" adding, "that he would not have parted with me so soon, had he not believed that I was a good Englishman,—that I could be of service to my country at home,—and that it might suffer by my absence."

Having transmitted to his Majesty some agricultural communications, I received from him the following letter, dated Varsovie, le 19. Janvier 1788.

MONSIEUR DE SINCLAIR,

Certainement l'attention d'un Anglois, qui possede autant de connoissances utiles, que vous Monsieur, et qui veut bien m'en faire part, ne peut être que très agréé par moi : Ainsi je vous prie de recevoir mes remercimens, sur ce que Mr de Littlepage m'a envoyé de votre part, ensemble avec l'assurance de l'estime distinguée, que vous porte, Monsieur de Sinclair, votre bien affectionné \*,

STANISLAS AUGUSTE ROY.

As my stay in Poland was very short, nothing could be more gratifying to me than to receive the subjoined letter, from Charles Whitworth, Esq., afterwards created Viscount Whitworth ; from which it appears, that my short residence at Warsaw had not been soon forgotten.

Warsaw, 15th February 1788.

It is, my dear Sir, with the utmost satisfaction, that I embrace this opportunity, of recalling myself to your recollection, and of assuring you, that I am very far from having forgot the agreeable, though short time, we passed together in this place. I am certain it will not be indifferent to you to learn, that you have, in that short time, acquired many friends here, who frequently inquire after you, but most particularly the King. The inclosed letter was given to me by the Russian ambassador, and I lose no time to forward it. I will not trouble you with the news of this country, which can be none to you. We are tolerably quiet, considering what passes

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\* Translation.

Warsaw, January 19. 1788.

SIR,

There can be no doubt that the attention of an Englishman, who possesses so much useful information as you, and who is willing to communicate it, must be highly acceptable to me. I beg. therefore, you will receive my thanks, for what Mr Littlepage has transmitted to me from you, together with the assurance of the great esteem entertained for you by, Sir, your very affectionate,

(Signed) STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS REX.



in our neighbourhood. Adieu, my dear Sir John, and believe me to be, with great regard, &c.

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## VII.

### FREDERICK WILLIAM II, KING OF PRUSSIA.

I arrived in Berlin soon after the death of the celebrated Frederick, an event which took place on the 17th August 1786, and on the 12th of November following I had the honour of being presented to his successor. As there was a complete change in the politics of Prussia, and the new sovereign had declared his preference of a connexion with England to that with France, the reception I met with, being the first member of the British Parliament who had attended his court, was in the highest degree gratifying. His Majesty was then about forty-two, above six feet high, and had a majestic appearance. His uncle, Prince Henry, was, on the other hand, an open and declared friend to France, hardly ever spoke German, except after his nephew's accession, and read nothing but French writers. He used constantly to have the French minister with him, but never the English one; and while all the strangers from France were graciously received, no Englishman had, for many years, been admitted.

It was on Tuesday the 21st of November that I was asked to sup with this Prince, to the astonishment of the Berlin politicians. The invitation was the more remarkable, as the King was to be there. After the company assembled had spent about a couple of hours at the games of *loto dauphin*, and whist, supper was announced at nine, and about fifteen in all, in which number I had the honour of being included, sat down to the royal table. The entertainment was rather long and tedious. After supper, the King, and the rest of the company, returned to the rooms, where they had originally assembled. His Majesty then calling me aside, entered in-

to a pretty long discussion on the subject of the commerce and finances of Prussia, respecting which I gave him some hints, with which he seemed to be gratified. He expressed his regret at the shortness of my stay at Berlin, as these were subjects, he said, with which he was very much occupied at that time, and he would have been glad to have been favoured with the sentiments of one who had directed so much attention to political inquiries.

On the departure of the King, I had a private conference with Prince Henry on the same subjects; in the course of which he inquired, whether it was possible to have "a perfect system of finance?" I replied, "*That if it were possible to have a nation of perfect men, all of them divested of avarice, and full of zeal for the public interest, it might be possible to have a perfect system of finance, otherwise it could not be accomplished. It was impossible,*" I remarked, "that the same system could answer in different forms of government. For instance, an independent revenue would be suitable to a despotic monarchy, but would be contrary to the principles of a free constitution, where the people were anxious that their rulers should, in a great measure, be dependent upon them for the supplies. Nor would the same system suit the same government in different stages of society; for, at first, taxes are paid chiefly by military services; next, they are paid in kind, for the maintenance of the sovereign's family and household; and after society has made considerable progress, the taxes become entirely payable in money."

When the royal family had gone, the rest of the company, astonished to see a stranger taken so much notice of by them, overpowered me with their attention and civilities.

I set out from Berlin the next morning, and breakfasted at Potsdam. The palace contained nothing worth particular notice. I thence proceeded to Sans Souci, where the great Frederick had died, and I found them repairing the room where that event had taken place. The books which Frederick had last perused, were *The Edda*,—*L' Art de la Guerre*,—*his own*

*works*,—and *Suetonius*. I observed in his library, two different lives of Oliver Cromwell in French, which I understood he frequently read. I found, that no stranger had been admitted since March 1786, so that I could not have seen him, had I originally gone by Berlin, instead of proceeding to Russia by Denmark and Sweden.

At Berlin, I recollect an interesting discussion on the question, “To what circumstance it was owing, that the French language prevailed so much in Germany, and in other parts of Europe?” On this subject, it was remarked by M. de Wilner, whom the new King much consulted, “That the prevalence of the French, was not owing to the superiority of the language itself to the English or German, or to any greater ability in the French authors, but in a great measure to the number of refugees driven from France, when the edict of Nantz was repealed, who acted as teachers in every country where they went, and served to spread the French language, manners, and dress, all over the Continent.” This remark was more applicable to Germany, than to several other parts of Europe.

I heard two anecdotes of Frederick, which I think it right here to record, as they do credit to the wit, and manly spirit, of two British subjects.

A Dr Baylis having spent his fortune in vainly endeavouring to get a seat in Parliament, was at last obliged to study medicine, and established himself in Saxony, where he acquired a high reputation. The King of Prussia offered him very handsome terms to settle at his capital, which he accepted. Upon his arrival in Berlin, and being introduced at Court, the King said to him, “Dites-moi un peu, Monsieur, combien de monde avez-vous expédié, avant de parvenir à votre grande reputation?” “Pas la moitié autant que votre Majesté,” replied the Doctor. It was so home a thrust, that the King never forgave it. He liked to be witty himself, but not to be the cause of wit in others, or to give them any advantage

over him in conversation. Hence he soon quarrelled with Voltaire, and other distinguished literary characters.

Sir Andrew Mitchell, a North Briton, was long ambassador at Berlin, particularly during the seven years' war, and attended the King during all his battles and campaigns. One day intelligence was received of great rejoicings in England, on account of some victory, with acknowledgments to the Divine Being for his powerful aid. On this the King asked Sir Andrew, " Si le peuple d'Angleterre étoit assez fou pour supposer, que le bon Dieu étoit un de leurs alliés ?" to which Sir Andrew answered, " Que, s'il en étoit ainsi, il ne prenoit point de subsidés." As it is well known that the King of Prussia was enabled to carry on the war, in a great measure, by the aid of the English subsidies, the stroke was peculiarly cutting.

Frederick the Great was certainly a most extraordinary character. When the government of Prussia devolved upon him, it was a small, inconsiderable, and disjointed kingdom, without arts, industry, or riches. By the abilities of Frederick, it was raised to be a great, compact, and flourishing empire. He taught his subjects industry, improved their skill in agriculture, and enabled them to partake the advantages of manufactures and commerce. But the foundation of the national prosperity he laid *on agriculture*. Impressed with ideas of its superior importance, he was accustomed to lay out above £.300,000 *per annum* in promoting various agricultural improvements. This he considered to be "*as manure spread upon the ground, to secure a more abundant harvest ;*" and in fact, instead of being impoverished by such liberal grants, he thereby increased his revenues so much, that he was able to leave a treasury behind him containing *twelve millions Sterling* \*.

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\* See Code of Agriculture, 3d edit. p. 515. The particulars of these grants are detailed in Miscellaneous Essays by Sir John Sinclair, printed 1802, p. 260.

## VIII.

## GUSTAVUS THE THIRD, KING OF SWEDEN.

It was on the 22d of July 1786, that I had the honour of being presented to this Sovereign, at his country palace of Droningholm. I was received in so very flattering a manner, that the French ambassador could not conceal the chagrin with which he witnessed it. But the circumstance can easily be accounted for. There had long been a most intimate connexion between Sweden and Scotland. A number of Scotch Regiments had served with great eclat under Gustavus Adolphus in his German war; and so many of the officers of those corps had settled in Sweden, that not less than about sixty of the nobility of Sweden were of Scottish extraction. Among these, the King remarked, that there were not less than three noble families of the name of *Sinclair*; so that it must have interested him much, to have a person of that name, from the same country, and who was also a member of the British House of Commons, presented to him. He was likewise glad to learn, from the English minister, (Sir Thomas Wroughton), that I supported the administration of Mr Pitt; feelingly adding, “That he was not fond of those, who were perpetually wrangling with their Sovereign, and disturbing the peace and tranquillity of a country.”

The royal family took no meal in public except supper, and, during that repast, the King was accustomed to send for the foreign ministers, and any strangers who were at Court. On the present occasion, I was the fourth in succession, and was desired to attend before the Spanish minister, and several other foreigners of distinction, which was considered a great compliment, and was probably owing to my political rank as a British senator. After these audiences were over, there was occasionally singing, and some instrumental music. The scene, on the whole, was splendid and interesting.

The ministers of the crown, and the strangers present, were afterwards invited to sup at the table of the Countess Piper, where the entertainment was sumptuous. We returned about two o'clock next morning to Stockholm, after spending a day as happy as royal splendour and luxury could make it. On our return, Monsieur Trembley, a *savant* from Switzerland, remarked, "It is not to be wondered at, that such scenes as these, should turn the heads of those who are not true philosophers."

Gustavus, as has always been the case with monarchs, was represented in different colours, by his foes and his friends. His enemies dwelt on his defects and vices; and his friends, on those accomplishments and virtues which they contended he possessed. By blending the two together, and taking a little from both, his real character may be justly estimated. His enemies accused him of intemperance in drinking, in which he occasionally indulged himself; but he was not an habitual drunkard. They ridiculed him much for his vanity; in particular for imitating, because his name was Gustavus, his renowned ancestors, Gustavus Vasa and Gustavus Adolphus. This was certainly a laudable ambition, had he not extended it to such trifles, as sitting in the attitude in which Gustavus Adolphus was drawn, and the like minutiae. The next charge they brought against him was *extravagance*. He was certainly inclined to spend much more than the revenues of so poor a kingdom as Sweden could afford. He immersed himself in all kinds of expenses,—some useful, like those at Carlsrona; others perfectly unnecessary, such as the building of the most elegant, though not the largest opera-house in Europe. This edifice cost above £.150,000; and its actors, decorations, &c. occasioned an annual expense, which the prudent and frugal Swedes grudged not a little. He likewise kept, in his stables at Stockholm, no fewer than 275 horses. In short, his establishments were altogether on too great a scale for so small a kingdom. He was also accused of being extremely unguarded and imprudent in his speeches. Being much disappointed

at the reception he had met with at Paris, and attributing it to the Queen of France, he gave her additional umbrage by the imprudent remarks he made respecting her. He certainly said in a public company, "That she had grown too fat, to be any longer accounted a beauty;" and the Queen having one day sung in his company, to display her vocal accomplishments, (which, it is said, were of the first order), when his opinion of her performance was asked, he very coldly replied, "That he never relished any singing but upon the stage." The Queen, it is said, by leaving him out of her parties, and other slights, took care to shew her resentment. In the last place, he was very apt to be hasty in the plans he adopted. The Diet in 1786 was rashly resolved on, and as hastily dissolved; and the speech at the dissolution was so extremely violent, that the King found it absolutely necessary to soften it before it was printed. The obnoxious passages, however, were deeply engraven in the minds of many of the hearers, and rendered him extremely unpopular.

On the other hand, as his friends contended, the King always shewed a sincere and hearty desire to render his country flourishing. Every useful attempt, of a public nature, he warmly patronized. He encouraged learned men of all professions. To those who conspicuously distinguished themselves by their literary labours, he gave the offices they were entitled to expect, as the best professorships in the different universities, and sometimes the order of *Vasa*, as in the case of *Thunberg*, who had been in *Japan*. By his attention and encouragement, he also reared some tolerable painters; and *Sergle*, who was employed and maintained by him, was an excellent statuary. He was very attentive, as every wise King ought to be, to preserve his naval and military establishment on the best possible footing. He again called forth the warlike spirit of the Swedes, which had sunk very low during his father's reign; and his fleet, by the exertions and abilities of that excellent constructor, *Chapman*, became extremely formidable.

There was no man more insinuating when he chose it, or who could behave in a more affable and engaging manner to strangers. In point of *general knowledge* also, there were very few of his subjects on a footing with him. His pretensions to eloquence stood high for a sovereign. His oratorical talents were of great service to him at the Revolution, and continued to render him popular with the people at large. His enemies however contended, that he ought to be called a *parleur*, and not an *orateur*.

His courtiers were constantly representing to him, that he was possessed of abilities too transcendent to be confined within so narrow, cold, and remote a country as Sweden, and that he was better qualified, than any monarch then existing, not only to govern a great empire, but to hold in his hands the balance of Europe. Impressed with these ideas, it is not to be wondered at, that he should consider the convulsion arising from the French Revolution, as furnishing him with a favourable opportunity of appearing on the stage of politics, with great eclat. He was thence induced to go in person to Coblenz, to confer with the exiled princes and nobility of France, and to ascertain in what manner he could best give them his assistance. It was resolved that he should fit out an armament, and in person make a descent on the coast of France, to co-operate with the Royalists. A conspiracy, however, had been formed, by some of the discontented nobles in Sweden, at whose instigation he was assassinated at a masquerade, in his own palace, on the 16th of March 1792. He survived till the 29th of that month, retaining his mental faculties to the last, and exhibiting on his deathbed, a noble and heroic spirit, which enabled him to devote his last hours, amidst much pain and anguish, to public concerns, and in particular to the arrangement of the future government of his kingdom.



## IX.

## CHARLES JEAN (BERNADOTTE), KING OF SWEDEN.

There can be no doubt that the present King of Sweden is possessed of very considerable talents. The letter which he wrote on the education of his son, was distinguished by good sense and ability, and would do credit to any author. Having the command of the French troops in the lower part of Germany, during the early part of the reign of Napoleon, he happened to pay particular attention to the natives of Sweden, who sounded his praises so much in that country, that it led to the idea of electing him Crown Prince of Sweden in 1810, and he succeeded to the Crown in 1817. It was with great difficulty, that Bonaparte was prevailed upon to give the plan his concurrence ; and Bernadotte had certainly a very difficult game to play afterwards, when Napoleon made his celebrated attack on Russia ; but on that occasion, and during the remainder of the war, he conducted himself with great prudence and ability.

It is singular, that there was at one time an idea of placing Bernadotte on the throne of France. He was considered by some as the fittest person, being both connected with the Revolution, and at the same time adopted, in a manner, into the circle of the old and legitimate royalty of Europe. The restoration of the House of Bourbon, it is known, was not originally agreed on, and was brought about in a very singular manner. When the allies approached Paris, a few of their most active partisans resolved to make the attempt. They printed accordingly a great number of the proclamations of the Bourbons ; and on the morning the Allies entered Paris, these were read to the people, and distributed by a number of women of fashion, attended by all the young men they could influence. An abundant expenditure of white cockades took place at the same time ; and they were so generally worn, that the Emperor Alexander was impressed with the idea, that the

restoration would be popular, though it had not till then been finally concluded.

It was with some difficulty, that the proposal of preserving Bernadotte on the throne of Sweden was afterwards agreed to. It was inconsistent, it was said, with the system adopted by the Allies,—“that of restoring Europe as much as possible to the same state in which it was placed prior to the French Revolution ;” but Bernadotte having joined the allies in the attack upon Napoleon, his claims were considered the strongest.

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*Letter from the King of Sweden to the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair.*

Monsieur le Chevalier Baronet Sinclair, J'ai reçu votre lettre, avec l'annonce de l'ouvrage important que vous venez de publier ; et c'est avec un vrai plaisir que je prendrai des mesures pour remplir votre belle intention, à l'avantage du país, dont la prospérité est l'objet de mes vœux et de mes efforts. J'éprouve une satisfaction particulière, en profitant de l'occasion que vous m'offrez vous-même, de vous exprimer toute l'estime que vous m'inspirez, et que vous portent tous les habitans éclairés de la Suede, où votre nom est connu depuis longtems, aussi bien que les travaux que vous consacrez avec tant de succès au plus utile comme au plus honorable de tous les metiers. L'homme vertueux, qui remplit fidelement ses devoirs envers le país qui l'a vû naitre, a des droits à la reconnaissance de sa patrie. Le philanthrope qui voue ses lumieres et ses veilles au bienêtre de l'humanité entiere, a droit de citoyen chez tous les peuples. En vous assurant de mes sentimens bien distingués, je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait, Monsieur le Chevalier Baronet Sinclair, en sa sainte et digne garde, étant votre affectionné,

CHARLES JEAN \*.

Stockholm, le 18. Août 1817.

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\* Translation.

SIR,

I have received your letter, with the Prospectus of the important work you

## X.

## FREDERICK THE SIXTH, KING OF DENMARK.

When I visited Denmark in July 1786, the King, (Christian the Seventh), was incapable of carrying on the government, and no court was held for the introduction of strangers. The young Prince who succeeded him promised well. He studied much; and, what is always a good sign in a person of his rank, he rose early in the morning. He had not indulged himself to any excess, in women, in wine, or at the table. He had made great improvements in the discipline of the Danish troops, which had fallen into disorder; and he likewise paid much attention to naval matters. He was peculiarly fortunate in employing a minister, (*Count Bernstorff*), who was one of the ablest statesmen that I met with on the Continent.

When the Prince ascended the throne, under the name of Frederick VI., he became extremely partial to the pursuits of agriculture; and with a view of promoting a spirit for improving that art in Denmark, he was at the expense of having "The Code of Agriculture" translated and circulated in his dominions. A copy of the translation was sent to the Author, by the celebrated Professor Oersted, with the following letter:

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are about to publish; and it will afford me the highest pleasure to forward your good intentions, for the advantage of a country whose prosperity is the great object of my wishes and efforts. I feel a particular satisfaction in availing myself of this opportunity of expressing to you the esteem with which you have inspired me, and which is also entertained for you by all the enlightened inhabitants of Sweden, where your name has been known for a long time, as well as the successful labour you bestow on the most useful and honourable of all pursuits. The virtuous man, who faithfully fulfils his duties to the country which has given him birth, has a right to its gratitude. The philosopher, who devotes his knowledge and acquirements to the benefit of the whole human race, has a claim to the rights of citizenship among all nations. Assuring you of the very distinguished place you hold in my regard, I pray God to preserve you in his holy keeping, and am your affectionate,

(Signed) CHARLES JEAN.

Stockholm, 18th August 1817.

To Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

Copenhagen, the 2d Martii 1824.

DEAR SIR,

In sending you herewith a copy of the Danish translation of your celebrated Code of Agriculture, I am glad to have the occasion of expressing you my thanks for the kind reception I enjoyed with you, and of testifying you my high esteem and consideration.

Your most humble,

and most obedient servant,

OERSTED.

The ancient Danes are represented to have been a strong, hardy, and martial race of men. But ever since the establishment of a despotic government, in 1660, they have been gradually degenerating; and for above a century past have done nothing worthy of their former reputation. The nobles, when I visited that country, with some laudable exceptions, were, in general, expensive and luxurious; and the commoners idle and dispirited. The diet of the peasants was very poor; and they were much addicted to spirituous liquors. They wore nothing but wooden shoes, which cramping the circulation, and giving the muscles of their feet no play, occasioned sometimes lameness, and hence the majority walked very indifferently. I rejoice to hear, that great improvement, in all these respects, has taken place since 1786. It was also particularly gratifying to me to see several of the young nobility of Denmark, as the Bernstorffs, the Revertlaus, &c. coming to England and Scotland to study agriculture.

The soil of Zealand, and of the rest of the Danish dominions, is in general excellent, and well entitled to better cultivation than it in general meets with. The climate, however, is not very favourable to health. It is violently hot in summer, and consequently relaxing; and the winters are wet and damp, with less snow than could be supposed, consider-

ing its northern situation. Hence the air, being so often either hot or moist, seldom agrees with strangers; and the water is frequently so unwholesome, that it is very apt to occasion complaints in the stomach, if it be drunk in any quantity.

The Danes have an idea that their command over the entrance into the Baltic might be increased. The deepest part of the Sound is contiguous to them, and they assert, that by filling up two or three channels, no vessel of any burden could pass, but through the harbour of Copenhagen. As it is, a ship of 90 or 100 guns must lighten itself considerably, before it can sail from the Baltic into the German ocean. This is a circumstance entitled to particular inquiry, since, were it practicable, it would be the easiest mode of keeping the naval ambition of Russia within moderate bounds.

The commerce of Denmark would be considerable, were it not so cramped by monopolies, prohibitions, and exorbitant duties. The principal article it imports from Great Britain is coal, which would be consumed in larger quantities, were it not for the following circumstance:—By the custom of Denmark, ashes are the perquisite of the house-maid: wood yields great quantities, which sell well; and as hardly any are produced by coal, the house-maids of Copenhagen remonstrate against the use of that species of fuel, and will hardly serve in a family where it is burnt. It is said that freestone might answer well in the Danish market, and many other British commodities, were the importation of them permitted.

It is unfortunate for Denmark and Sweden, that they are mutually so jealous of each other. Of the two, the Danes seemed to me the most inveterate. They were anxious to be considered a braver, a richer, a more polite, and a more learned nation than their neighbours; and the most agreeable of all topics, was to compare them with the Swedes, and to cast the balance in their favour. In regard to learning, they have the advantage in one point, namely, in the number of volumes they have published. In 1786, 25,000 different works had

been printed in Denmark, and it is said not above 18,000 in Sweden. Russia takes advantage of this mutual jealousy, to keep them both under, and to tyrannize over the north.

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## XI.

## THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK AND PRINCE FERDINAND.

In the course of a tour through Germany, I had the pleasure of being introduced, on the 24th of November 1786, to the Ducal Family of Brunswick. On my arrival, at nine in the morning, I received an intimation that Prince Ferdinand, so celebrated for his victory at Minden, would be glad to see me. On being introduced to that distinguished character, I was quite astonished at his appearance. He smiled with much complacency, was fat, good-humoured, and polite, but had nothing of the hero in his appearance. He spoke, with great propriety, of his regard for, and obligations to, the English nation.

I went afterwards to the ducal palace to dinner, and was introduced to the then reigning Duchess, who was sister to George the Third of England, and resembled him much. Nothing gave her more pleasure than to see an Englishman ; and I had no reason to complain of my reception. The Duke entered only immediately before dinner was announced, and asked merely some common questions. He had at that period the character of being one of the ablest generals in Europe, which his conduct at the commencement of the French Revolution, and still more the manner in which he commanded the Prussian army prior to, and at the battle of Jena, did not at all warrant. In fact, he was too much imbued with the tactics of the old school, and had not kept pace with the improvements in modern strategy.

The entertainment at dinner was tedious, and would have been dull, had it not been that the Duchess was lively and

talkative the whole time. After dinner, the company returned to drink coffee, and then the strangers retired. About six, I went to the assembly at Prince Ferdinand's; and I saw the hero of Mindin playing at loto dauphin. Almost the whole company sat down to play at that game or at cards. About eight we again separated; and a select party again assembled to sup at the Duchess Dowager's of Brunswick. She was sister to the late King of Prussia, and, I was told, resembled him much. Like him she was remarkable for her quickness. From age she had become quite thin and shrivelled; but was extremely lively and inquisitive.

I was astonished at the state that was kept up at the court of Brunswick. There was a *Grand Chambellan*, a *Grand Maitre*, and other officers, with titles equally sounding; but the pomp and ceremony formerly observed at the courts of the inferior German princes has now greatly abated.

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## XII.

### THE PRINCE OF ORANGE AND HOLLAND.

I arrived at Nimeguen, (where the Prince of Orange was compelled to reside in a species of exile), on the morning of the 30th of November 1786, and was requested to attend a ball and supper, which it accidentally happened were to be given at court in the evening. The arrival of a member of the British House of Commons, at that period of distress, was considered a circumstance of considerable moment; and the greatest attention was paid to me. I had the honour of beginning the ball with the Princess of Orange, and of dancing afterwards with the Princess Louisa, who, to my astonishment, recollected that circumstance about twenty-eight years after, (on the 9th of March 1815), when I was presented to her at the Hague.

At supper, I sat next the Princess, who was distinguished for her spirit and ability. We had a most interesting con-

versation regarding the unfortunate state to which the House of Orange had been reduced ; the causes of which, in the course of my journey through Holland, I was enabled to ascertain. She was popular, even with the Dutch patriots. Indeed, had the Prince died, and had she been appointed Regent, the power of the House of Orange would soon have been re-established. She had been at the greatest pains in the education of her children, who promised to do her credit.

The Prince of Orange had rather an unpleasant appearance. He was not wanting in ability, and had an excellent memory ; but in judgment he was deficient. It was said of him, that though no man could give a better advice to others, he was yet very apt to adopt the worst advice himself \*. He was indolent in business ; and as he neglected very important concerns for months together, he often let slip many favourable opportunities of putting an end to those political disturbances which had reduced the House of Orange to so deplorable a state.

From Nimeguen I proceeded to Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and the Hague. There never was a country in so distracted a state as Holland was at that time. The inhabitants of the towns, the army, and the dissenters of all descriptions, as the Roman Catholics, Arminians, &c. were patriots or republicans ; whereas the inhabitants of the country, the navy, and the Calvinists, or those who adhered to the established religion, were attached to the House of Orange. Indeed, such was its power and popularity, that nothing could have shaken it, had it not been for the interference of France. The government of that country, however, were resolved to spare no trouble or expense, to acquire a preponderating influence in Holland. With that view, they overran the country with their emissaries,—they bought the newspapers,—employed clever authors to write

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\* He was taught to be suspicious of all mankind, and to have confidence in nobody. He believed that the world consisted of fools and knaves ; that the first *cannot give good advice* ; and that the second *would not*, unless it suited their own private views and interests.



popular books and pamphlets in favour of an alliance with France,—bribed influential people to support its interests,—and endeavoured, as much as they could, to assimilate the manners of the inhabitants to that of France, by introducing among them gambling, and every species of debauchery.

The objects which France had in view, by these intrigues, were of considerable moment. By obtaining a preponderating influence in Holland, they proposed to strengthen themselves and to weaken England; and to make Holland their bank, where they might raise any sum of money their exigencies might require. But, above all, having succeeded in their attempt to deprive England of its American colonies, they had next resolved to disencumber it of its Indian empire, and for the attainment of that object, the assistance of Holland was of the highest importance. The breaking out of the French Revolution put an end to all these projects, and in that respect was one of the most fortunate events that could have happened to England.

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### XIII.

#### AUSTRIAN FLANDERS.

I visited Flanders, when it was under the dominion of the House of Austria, and after its government had undergone a change. I had the honour of being introduced to their Royal Highnesses, who were intrusted by the Emperor with the government of Flanders, on Christmas 1786. Strangers were presented to them, as they came from mass, in the same manner as at St Petersburg; and their Royal Highnesses acted their parts with much dignity and affability. In the evening there was a very brilliant drawing-room.

The towns and villages were numerous, and the people seemed much at their ease; but it was a bad system that of annexing such distant possessions to the Austrian government.

The Emperor had begun to dismantle the fortifications of his frontier towns; and his object must have been of more importance than the trifling sum of money he got for the ground. He had rendered himself very unpopular by the changes he had attempted in the religion and government. But the people, though much dissatisfied, did not well know how to mend themselves. The clergy were attacked in various ways, and, among other burdens, were compelled to build several houses in the Park at Brussels, for the ornament of the town, which they let to great disadvantage.

Nothing could exceed the richness and beauty of the Netherlands, nor the excellency of its agriculture. The country is fertile, inclosed with trees, and not with close hedges, which intercepts the prospect; and every where the traveller sees rivers and navigable canals,—country-houses finely situated, and adorned with delightful pleasure grounds,—neat villages,—and a number of considerable towns.

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#### XIV.

##### HOUSE OF BOURBON.

I had frequent intercourse with the House of Bourbon, both in its prosperous and adverse circumstances. It is singular, that in the second edition of the History of the Revenue, published in 1786-7, the Revolution in France was predicted, several years before it actually took place. The foundation was laid at that time, and the crisis seemed to be fast approaching. The economical arrangements of Necker destroyed the influence of the Crown; and the reduction of the household troops was a blow which the monarchy never recovered. In the History of the Revenue, it was remarked, that the court of France, like every arbitrary administration, was nothing but a faction confederated together, for the government of that great and powerful kingdom; and this fac-

tion was upheld, and received perpetual accessions, from the hopes that every individual belonging to it entertained, of having some share in the plunder of the nation. But if ever those hopes were destroyed,—if frugality was ever carried to any extreme,—if all expectations of sharing in the spoils of the public were annihilated, the power of the faction would quickly cease, and a revolution would be the necessary consequence. “ Besides,” it was added, “ such has been the impolitic conduct of the French cabinet, in supporting the independence of North America,—in suffering the natives of that country to spread their wild ideas of republicanism throughout every corner of the kingdom,—and indeed so much have the bold compositions written in this country in favour of liberty, and the legal rights of mankind, been circulated there, that the seeds of important political changes seem to be sown, which greater restrictions on the royal bounty would have a tendency to accelerate \*.” The King of France, therefore, was severely but properly punished for giving any countenance to the independence of America, after he had given the most solemn assurances, that he would never grant any assistance to the British colonies; and since, depending on his assurances, the British Government was induced to take those harsh measures which occasioned the separation.

I had the honour to be introduced to the Count d’Artois, when he resided at the King’s Palace in Edinburgh. He was much admired for the affability of his deportment, and the pleasant sallies which he frequently produced. I recollect having waited upon him in company with Lord Macdonald, who was about 6 feet 5 inches in height, or about 2 inches taller than I was. It was about the time of the Edinburgh races. He asked whether we had any horses in the field? I happened to say, in return, that the horses in our part of Scotland were remarkably small, and unfit for racing; on which he remarked,

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\* Hist. of the Revenue, vol. iii. p. 315.

with a good deal of archness,—“ There is a great difference then between the men and the horses of your country.”

I was extremely anxious, during his residence in Scotland, that he should pay some marked attention to agriculture, and be present at some of those public meetings, where the cultivation and improvement of the soil were the great objects of consideration. I was persuaded that it would have an advantageous effect on the minds of the people of France. But his Royal Highness did not seem much inclined to enter into those ideas.

There was a singular contrast in my reception at the Court of France, at two different periods. On the 1st of January 1787, I was presented to Louis the Sixteenth, by the Duke of Dorset, the British Ambassador, and the crowd was so great that he hardly took notice of any of those who were introduced to him. But after the battle of Waterloo, when I went in the Highland dress, no one could receive a more gracious reception from his successor. “ That is the garb,” his Majesty said, “ which I particularly admire, and those who wear that dress will always be acceptable at my Court.”

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## XV.

### ANECDOTES OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

I had no communication with the Emperor Napoleon, either personal or epistolary; but a circumstance took place at the commencement of his attack on Prussia, in which I was most deeply interested, and in the course of which, he had an opportunity of proving, as he himself expressed it, “ That he did not make war against education or literature.”

Having felt, in the course of my literary pursuits, the great disadvantage of not having acquired a knowledge of the German language, in which such stores of useful knowledge are contained, I determined that my eldest son, George, should not experience the same obstacle to his progress in science,

and therefore sent him, after he had become thoroughly master of Latin and Greek \*, to complete his education in Germany. Having remained about two years in Gotha, where it is supposed that the German is spoken with peculiar purity, he had directions to proceed to the University of Leipsic. He began his journey at the period when Napoleon had commenced his celebrated attack on Prussia, and his army marched with a celerity, for which the Prussians were not at all prepared. My son was most unexpectedly seized, on his road to Leipsic, by some of the advanced guards of the French army; and brought before Napoleon in person, *as a spy*. Of this singular circumstance, a Berlin paper, transmitted to me by M. Bottiger of Dresden, gave the following account:

“ On the 14th of October (1806), while the Emperor Napoleon had his head quarters at Auma, there were two prisoners brought before him early in the morning, who had been arrested as spies. It became evident, however, when they were separately examined, and their depositions compared, that they were very honest people. The one was the son of Sir John Sinclair, a Scots Baronet, well known for his meritorious labours in statistics and agriculture. His son had studied at Gottingen, and having been upon a visit at Gotha, was now travelling through the midst of the Prussian army to Leipsic. His companion was a chaplain from Gotha. The young Scotsman had, in his pocket book, a plan of study drawn up by his father, and soon manifested his innocence. The Emperor himself had a conversation with him, and afterwards with his companion, about three o'clock in the morning; and as soon as he learned that the Prussians as yet knew no-

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\* He spent about three years at Harrow, where he became intimate with the celebrated Lord Byron, who, in his memorandums, thus expresses himself regarding his young friend. “ The prodigy of our school-days was George Sinclair, (son of Sir John); he made exercises for half the school, (literally), verses at will, and themes without it. He was a friend of mine, and in the same remove, and used at times to beg me to let him do my exercise,—a request always most readily accorded upon a pinch, or when I wanted to do something else, which was usually once an hour.”—*Moore's Life of Byron*, vol. i. p. 41.

thing of his being in their neighbourhood, he turned round and exclaimed: ' Ils se tromperont serieusement ces perruques; ' These wiseacres have deceived themselves most egregiously.' They were both dismissed in a friendly manner, and provided with passports."

I was prepossessed in favour of a public education, which this incident tended to confirm; for had a youth of sixteen years of age, trained up with domestic indulgence, been placed in so critical a situation, and brought, *as a spy*, before the greatest man then living, on whose fiat depended either his release, or his being sentenced to an ignominious death, what chance had he of giving such an account of himself as would have ensured his safety? Whereas, in this case, my son, having been educated at a *public school*, accustomed to act for himself, and his mind being expanded and improved by rivalry and competition with other boys, being also accustomed to depend on his own resources, and to be prepared for any emergency, he was enabled to get through so hazardous a trial as the one he underwent, with considerable *éclat* \*.

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Any authentic anecdotes of so extraordinary a character as Napoleon, must always be acceptable. I am glad, therefore, that it is in my power to communicate to the reader the following interesting particulars, received from a respectable native of Corsica, who knew him well during his early years, and whose information, I think, may be confidently relied on.

" The origin of Napoleon's family is not precisely known, some contending that they came from a country place in the dutchy of Milan, and others from Tuscany. Their condition, and the time of their settlement in Corsica, is a matter of conjecture, as the most accredited historians are silent upon the subject; and by this it would appear that the settlers were of little or no consequence in the annals of Corsica. Yet it must

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\* In the Appendix, No. II, there is a more detailed account of this remarkable incident.

be confessed, that after the French conquest of Corsica, this family was acknowledged by the government as belonging to the aristocracy, and its members enjoyed all the privileges and honours attached to that rank."

"Buonaparte's father being brought up in the law, was appointed by the French government to fill the office of second judge in the province of Ajaccio. It was pretty well known at that time in Corsica, that this promotion was owing to the protection of the Count de Marbeuf, Commander-in-Chief, acting as Viceroy in Corsica, to whom the father of the future Emperor was farther indebted for a grant of an estate, and for the education of most of his children,—Napoleon in the French Military Academy, Joseph in the University of Pisa, Lucien in the Royal College of Ajaccio, and two daughters in a convent at Paris. The other children were but infants when the father died."

"I do not recollect any anecdotes of Napoleon during his infancy; but I can well remember, that being in the habit of frequenting the family, which was considered the most attached of any to the interest of the ancient French monarchy, because the most favoured by the royal munificence, I saw Napoleon when he returned from Paris, about the year 1789, twenty years of age, full of French vivacity, quick in his speech and motions, his mind apparently hard at work in digesting schemes, and forming plans, and proudly rejecting every other suggestion but that of his own fancy. For this intolerable ambition he was often reprov'd by the elder Lucien, his uncle, a dignitary of the church. Yet these admonitions seemed to make no impression upon the mind of Napoleon, who received them with a grin of pity, if not of contempt."

"On the 15th of August 1789, when the French revolution broke out in Corsica, I remember to have seen Napoleon very active among the enraged populace against those then called Aristocrats, and running through the streets of Ajaccio, so busy in promoting dissatisfaction, that though he lost his hat, he did not feel nor care for the dangerous effects of the

scorching sun, to which he was exposed the whole of that memorable day."

"The revolution having struck its poisonous root, Napoleon never ceased stirring up his brothers, Joseph and Lucien, who, being moved at his instance, were constantly attending clubs and popular meetings, where they often delivered speeches, and debated public matters, while Napoleon sat listening in silence, as he had no turn for oratory."

"One day in December 1790, I was sent for by his uncle already mentioned, in order to assist him in preparing his testament; and, after having settled his family concerns, the conversation turned upon politics, when, speaking of the improbability of Italy being revolutionized, Napoleon, then present, quickly replied, in these words; "*Had I the command, I would take Italy in twenty-four hours.*"

"In the month of June 1793, Salicetti, and La Comb St Michel, two of the regicide monsters sent by the sanguinary Convention to spread terror and devastation in Corsica, failing in their attempt upon Ajaccio, and being vigorously repulsed, were at last compelled to a disgraceful retreat, which Napoleon Buonaparte, as one of their followers, shared with them. Being now looked upon as an enemy by his native town and country, he was banished, his property confiscated, and his dwelling-house burnt to ashes by the incensed patriots, in order to serve as a standing example to posterity. Thus, being expelled from his native land, he went with the family to France, in quest of adventures."

"After the siege of Toulon, in which he took an active part under the French republic, he proceeded to Paris, where, by the interest of Madame de Beauharnois, his first wife, he obtained from the French Directors the chief command in Italy, which country he speedily subdued, and thus fulfilled the saying I have mentioned above."

"I am not aware that Napoleon ever expressed a wish to get into the British service; and if I may judge by the circumstance of his banishment from Corsica, which happened



before the English were acting in the Mediterranean, I cannot conceive how he could have had an opportunity of making a tender to the British, even had he wished to do so."

It may not be improper to annex to these anecdotes the following circumstances, which took place immediately previous to the battle of Waterloo.

An officer breakfasted with Buonaparte the morning of the battle of the 18th, to whom he made *in substance* the following remarks; the exact words the officer does not recollect: "La fortune a presque toujours été pour moi; mais jamais plus favorable que dans cette occasion. Rencontrer l'armée Anglaise avec Wellington est mon bonheur; et apres la defaite de ces *Messieurs*, les Alliées seront toutes en desordre \*." When informed that the Prussian army might perhaps unite itself with the English, not far from Wavre, he said: "L'armée Prussienne a besoin de trois jours pour se rallier. J'ai 75,000 hommes; les Anglois n'ont que 50,000. J'attaquerai l'armée Anglaise. Je la batterai. Mes amis m'attendent à Bruxelles. L'Opposition, (Anglois), ne demandera pas mieux pour élever la tête. Adieu subsidés.—Adieu coalition †."

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## XVI.

### THE KING OF SAXONY.

The late King of Saxony, (Frederick Augustus the Third,) was as respectable a sovereign as ever governed that interesting country. I had visited it in the year 1786, but was

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\* "Fortune has almost always been favourable to me; but never more so than upon the present occasion. I reckon it a great happiness to encounter Wellington and the English army; and when these gentry are defeated, the Allies will soon get into disorder."

† "The Prussian army will require three days to rally. I have 75,000 men; the English but 50,000. I shall attack the English army. I shall beat it. My friends expect me at Brussels. The Opposition in England will immediately regain their strength. Farewell then to subsidies—farewell to the coalition."

prevented, by circumstances which it is unnecessary to detail, from being introduced at Court, and becoming personally acquainted with his Majesty. This I have since particularly regretted, as that monarch was a blessing to his subjects, having exhibited, during a long reign, a model of every private virtue, while his public conduct was not less conspicuous for wisdom and justice. By practising the strictest economy, he was enabled to discharge a large proportion of the public debts which his predecessors had improvidently incurred. The institutions he established, for the benefit of the poor, and the attention he paid to all the various branches of internal policy, have excited the highest admiration. His connexion with Napoleon, whose interests he had supported during the greater part of the revolutionary war, embittered his last days; for he was compelled, on that account, by the Congress of Vienna, to give up a considerable portion of his hereditary dominions. The enforcement of that cession has been generally condemned; and nothing can be more affecting than the King's proclamation, when taking leave of his beloved subjects. In releasing them from their oath and obligations to himself and his house, and recommending fidelity and obedience to their new Sovereign, he concludes with these words, "My gratitude for your fidelity, and my affection and ardent wishes for your welfare, will ever accompany you."

The King of Saxony was highly distinguished by his regard for agriculture; and having had the honour of sending to his Majesty a communication on that most important subject, I had the happiness of receiving, in return, a letter, *written by his Majesty's command*, of which the following is a copy:

MONSIEUR,

Ayant reçu la lettre, dont vous m'avez honoré, en date du 30. Juin d<sup>r</sup>. avec ses annexés, je me suis empressé de soumettre au Roi, mon auguste maître, votre offre obligeante, d'envoyer ici un exemplaire de l'ouvrage intéressant que vous venez d'achever sur l'agriculture.

Sa Majesté m'a chargé de vous témoigner toute sa reconnaissance pour cet hommage. Il le recevra avec plaisir, et il donnera volontiers des ordres, pour que les résultats de vos études et de vos travaux soient repandus et utilisés dans ce pays.

Je me ferai un devoir, Monsieur, de contribuer à l'échange d'observations et d'expériences que vous avez voulu me proposer, et dont l'agriculture peut se promettre tant de profit; et je vous prie de recevoir, en attendant, l'assurance de la haute considération, avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

LE COMTE DELKO EINSIEDEL\*.

Dresde, le 16. Janvier 1818.

A Monsieur le Chevalier J. Sinclair, à Londres.

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## XVII.

### THE DUKE OF YORK.

I had the honour of being introduced to the Duke of York, at the Palace of Hanover, on the 26th November 1786,

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\* Translation.

SIR,

Having received the letter, with which you have honoured me, dated 30th June, with its inclosures, I hastened to lay before the King, my august master, your obliging offer to send hither a copy of the interesting work on agriculture, which you are about to complete.

His Majesty has desired me to express to you his obligation for this mark of respect. He will receive it with pleasure, and will willingly give orders that the results of your researches and labours may be circulated, and rendered useful in this country.

I shall consider it my duty, Sir, to contribute to the interchange of observations and experiments, which you have suggested, and from which agriculture may derive so much advantage; and I beg that, in the meantime, you will accept the assurance of the high consideration, with which I have the honour to be, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

(Signed) COUNT DELKO EINSIEDEL

Dresden, 16. Jan. 1818.

where his Royal Highness resided for some time under the tuition of General Grenville. He had then a fine figure, though beginning to become fat. He was very affable, had a good deal to say, and spoke with much readiness and condescension. He lived in a genteel, but not in an expensive style. He did not associate much with the people of the town, and had no real share in the government of the electorate. When I had the honour of seeing him, he was beginning to grow tired of Hanover, considering England his native country, and Germany only a place for an occasional visit. The military department was his great object, and his great ambition to command an English Army. But the situation for which he was peculiarly qualified was that of Commander-in-Chief, to which he was fortunately appointed \*. His public services, in that capacity, are so well known, as to render it unnecessary for me to dwell upon them. In fact, by his ability and unceasing exertions, the British Army was rendered the most efficient in Europe. Even Napoleon himself, who had so greatly improved the arts of destruction, and who had defeated the armies of every other European power, was compelled to fly before the Army of England at the field of Waterloo. I had frequently communications with his Royal Highness on agricultural, and other public matters, and found him always well disposed, to adopt any suggestions, either for the general service of the Army, or for rewarding merit, even in the humblest of its ranks. In regard to both these particulars, having sent the Duke an account of the improvements I had effected in the county of Caithness, and having offered to transmit to his Royal Highness some hints which I thought might be of use in his department, I received the following reply :

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\* Previous to the appointment of the Duke of York, promotion in the army was a complete scene of parliamentary jobbing. There was no restraint on rapid promotion by purchase ; and mere youths got the rank of field officers, without any military knowledge or experience. The Duke of York put an end to that ruinous system.

Horse Guards, October 29. 1801.

SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, and the accompanying printed statements of the various improvements which have been carried on in the county of Caithness, which I am happy to hear are likely to succeed so well.

*I shall be glad, at all times, to receive from you, any communication which you may conceive will contribute to the benefit of the service.* I am, Sir, yours,

FREDERICK.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

Disapproving much of those reductions in the Army, which were proposed in November 1801, I sent his Royal Highness a letter on the subject, to which I received the following answer :

Horse Guards, November 10. 1801.

SIR,

I had the pleasure of receiving yesterday your letter of the 4th instant, and the inclosed observations regarding the ensuing peace establishment, for which I take the earliest opportunity of returning you *many thanks*. I am, Sir, yours,

FREDERICK.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

The following are striking instances of the anxiety manifested, by the Duke of York, to reward merit, in the humblest stations in the Army.

I happened accidentally to preside at a meeting of the Highland Society of London ; and being informed that Serjeant Sinclair, who had taken an eagle from the French at the battle of Alexandria, was in the Freemason's tavern, where we met, I proposed sending for him, that we might hear his own account of the exploit. We were all much gratified with

his story ; and being satisfied of its authenticity, I resolved to apply to the Duke of York to procure a commission for him. This request his Royal Highness immediately complied with ; and I have since heard, with great satisfaction, that the promoted serjeant has done much credit to the high patronage he experienced on that occasion.

In the course of an excursion to the Continent, in the commencement of the year 1816, I accidentally met at Calais with the celebrated Serjeant Ewart, of the Scotch Greys, who had taken the eagle from the French at the battle of Waterloo. Being much pleased with the modesty, as well as the valour of this gallant soldier, I asked him what reward he was most anxious to obtain for his services on that occasion. He answered, that being a married man, and having been long in the service, he wished for retirement, and that an ensigncy in a veteran battalion would suit him best. I then gave him a letter to Sir Henry Torrens, to be delivered at the Horse Guards in person, when he returned to England ; and I assured him, that he would soon find the Commander-in-Chief was a true friend to merit *in the private* as well as in the officer. He delivered the letter accordingly, and I had the satisfaction of receiving the following answer :

Horse Guards, 9th March 1816.

Major-General Sir Henry Torrens presents his compliments to Sir John Sinclair, and has the honour to acquaint him, by direction of the Commander-in-Chief, that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to appoint Serjeant Ewart of the 2d Dragoons to an ensigncy in the 3d Royal Veteran Battalion.

Serjeant Ewart was the person usually employed to teach both recruits and young officers the management of the sword ; and being remarkable for his dexterity in the use of that weapon, I recollect having asked him, whether he thought that the

cuirasses worn by the French cavalry ought to be introduced into our service? He said, it was a subject on which he had often meditated; that wearing armour certainly had an imposing appearance, and might occasionally be of use; but, on the whole, he was convinced, that in an actual engagement, if two corps of cavalry fought each other sword in hand, the corps without the cuirasses, every other circumstance being equal, would have the advantage. The cuirass, he added, greatly impeded the proper management of the sword, and, he had no doubt, that it was two to one in favour of those, whose freedom of action was unembarrassed by the incumbrance of armour. I was glad to learn the sentiments of so experienced a cavalry soldier, on a question that had been frequently discussed, and which, in a military point of view, was of much importance.

The Duke of York, though a soldier, did not restrict his attention to military matters, but also took a part in political discussions. Having written a paper on the Political State of Europe, I thought it right to send a copy of it to his Royal Highness, for which I received the following flattering acknowledgment:

Horse Guards, Aug. 3. 1804.

SIR,

I take *the earliest opportunity* of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 26th of December last, and returning you *many thanks* for the communication of the accompanying paper on the Political State of Europe, which appears to me *highly deserving of attention*, and I doubt not that, if it were translated into French, and circulated, it would answer the purpose which you seem to have in view. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

FREDERICK.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart. &c.

## XVIII.

## THE DUKE OF KENT.

There is no correspondent whose communications were more gratifying to me, than those of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent. He took a warm interest in every useful pursuit, and promoted it by every means in his power. He possessed very general knowledge, but was peculiarly conversant in military affairs. He would have made a distinguished figure at the head of an army, but unfortunately had imbibed ideas of discipline, which were inconsistent with the peculiar spirit of a British soldier.

The communications from his Royal Highness, in the order in which they were received, are subjoined.

Kensington Palace, July 27. 1836.

The Duke of Kent does himself the pleasure to acknowledge Sir John Sinclair's note, accompanying a copy of his collection of papers on athletic exercises; for which mark of polite attention he begs to offer his best acknowledgments, assuring him, at the same time, that he looks forward, with infinite pleasure, to the prospect of perusing them, being well satisfied that, coming from the quarter they do, they cannot fail of being highly interesting, as well as instructive.

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The Duke of Kent presents his best regards to Sir John Sinclair, and, in acknowledging his polite note of yesterday, begs to express how grateful he feels for the inclosure contained in it, and which affords him a fresh proof of Sir John's flattering attention. The work he has just published, in answer to the opinions set forth in the Report of the Bullion Committee, cannot fail of being highly interesting, both on account of the importance of the subject in itself, and of the



well-known talents, as well as the superior judgment of the writer. Sir J. Sinclair may therefore rest assured, that it will be read by the Duke of Kent with all the attention to which it is so justly entitled, the moment he can find leisure to sit down to it, without the chance of being exposed to interruption while engaged in reading it.

Kensington Palace, 16th September 1810.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

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Kensington Palace, 13th August 1815.

The Duke of Kent returns his kindest acknowledgments to Sir John Sinclair for his obliging favour of the 2d instant, and the interesting account it contained of the last Piping Competition, which could not fail of being highly interesting to one, who sets so high a value as he does, upon any thing that tends to preserve the military spirit of the brave Highlanders. The judicious suggestion of Sir John Sinclair, with respect to some of the arms, cuirasses, and helmets taken at the battle of Waterloo, being sent to some of the principal cities of Scotland, to be hung up in the Town-Halls, as trophies of their countrymen's valour, he submitted to the Commander-in-Chief, who (the Duke of Kent is confident,) will esteem himself most happy if, in his capacity as President of the Highland Society, he can, consistently with his duty as Commander-in-Chief, meet the wishes thus expressed by one who justly stands so high in the estimation of all his countrymen.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart. &c.

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Kensington Palace, 3d July 1816.

The Duke of Kent returns his best acknowledgment to Sir John Sinclair for his favour of the 30th *ultimo* from Edinburgh, and the very interesting inclosure it covered, of the hints contained in which he will most certainly take advan-

tage, by making use of Sir John's name to the persons therein mentioned. At present he has no immediate intention of visiting either Ostend, Bruges, or Ghent, but proposes setting out for Brussels about the latter end of the second week in August, when he will be most happy to avail himself of Sir John's introduction to the four respectable individuals with whose names he has favoured him. Upon Sir John Sinclair's return to Ham Common, if he will afford the Duke an intimation of his being again at home, he will take the liberty of naming some morning for his coming over to Castle Hill, which, although a very small spot, he hopes he will not find unworthy of engaging his attention for half an hour, should he be able to devote that time from his more important avocations, to taking a look at it.

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## XIX.

## HIS IMPERIAL HIGHNESS, THE ARCHDUKE JOHN OF AUSTRIA.

Among the numerous diplomas transmitted to me from various public institutions on the Continent, there was none more gratifying than the one I received from the Agricultural Society of Vienna, which was accompanied by the following letter from its Secretary, written by command of the President, his Imperial Highness, John, Archduke of Austria.

*To the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart. President of the British Board of Agriculture.*

SIR,

I have the honour to inclose you here, by his Imperial Highness the Archduke John's orders, the diploma, by which the Agricultural Society of Vienna, protected by his Imperial Highness, has named you her fellow.

In the same time you receive the first part of the first volume of her Transactions, as a token of the public esteem due to your most useful publications, and exertions in all the branches of rural and political economy.

His Imperial Highness has ordered me further to say, that though, during his stay in England, he did not enjoy the pleasure of your personal acquaintance, yet he flatters himself, to be very well acquainted with your works, and wishes to keep up with you, by the means of the Society, a continual intercourse of mutual communications, useful to both our countries and nations.

Accept of the assurance of the truest regard and esteem, with which I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

Z. TRAUTMANN,

Permanent Secretary of the I. R. Society  
of Agriculture of Vienna.

Vienna, 6th January 1817.

This letter was written in English, as now given, and though not perfectly correct, yet proves the knowledge of that language acquired by the literati of Germany.

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## XX.

### PRINCE OSCAR, CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.

It was impossible for one, who had the charge of printing Ossian in the original Gaelic, not to take a peculiar interest in the character and conduct of a young Prince, named after one of the most celebrated heroes in the Poems of Ossian ; and I had therefore much satisfaction in receiving from that distinguished personage the following communication :

Monsieur le Chevalier, J'accepte, avec autant de plaisir que de reconnaissance, l'offre que vous me faites de devenir mem-

bre honoraire des deux sociétés, connues sous le nom d'*Highland Societies of London and of Scotland*. Le but de leurs travaux ne peut m'être étrange. Les heroes Celtes étaient frères et amis des heroes Scandinaves, et leur gloire m'intéresse à double titre, puisque le hasard a voulu que je porte le nom d'un de leurs plus fameux guerriers. Je suis sensible à la proposition que vous me faites, de m'envoyer les Poemes d'Ossian. Nous en avons, à la vérité, une traduction Suedoise, mais elle me paroît imparfaite. Je saisirai, avec plaisir, cette occasion de prouver l'intérêt que je prends à vos efforts, par le zèle que je mettrai à faire traduire en Suedois, et en Norvegien, ces ouvrages immortels, qui rappellent de si beaux souvenirs aux peuples du Nord, et qui entr'autres idées neuves et grandes, renferme cette idée vraiment si poétique, d'assigner les nuages pour demeures aux ames des heroes, et de les rendre ainsi témoins des actions, des peines et des plaisirs de leurs parens et de leurs amis.

Le plan d'un Code d'Agriculture, que vous avez joint à votre lettre, promet un ouvrage intéressant et précieux. J'ai appris, depuis mon enfance, à respecter et à cherir l'homme utile, qui consacre ses soins à cultiver et à fertiliser le sol de sa patrie ; et vous le savez les impressions qu'on a reçues dans son jeune age ne s'effacent jamais.

Je vous prie, Monsieur le Chevalier, d'être l'interprete de mes sentimens aupres de mes nouveaux collegues, et de recevoir l'assurance de ma consideration distinguée \*.

OSCAR.

Stockholme, le 26. Juillet 1817.

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• Translation.

SIR,

I accept, with as much pleasure as gratitude, the offer you make me of being elected an honorary member of the two societies known under the name of the *Highland Societies of London and of Scotland*.

The object of their labours is not unknown to me. The Celtic heroes were brothers and friends of the Scandinavian heroes ; and their glory interests me doubly, since I happen to bear the name of one of their most famous warriors.

I am obliged by the proposal you make of sending me the Poems of Ossian. We have indeed a Swedish translation of them, but it appears to me imperfect.

Upon communicating this epistle to an English gentleman, who had recently travelled in Sweden, I received a letter from him, regarding the character of that young Prince, of which the following is an extract :

“ I am much obliged to you for the communication of the letter from the Crown Prince of Sweden. It does honour to his sentiments, and corresponds with the notions I had formed of his general character. He will walk, I hope, in the steps of Henry IV. of France ; and as plants of the same species, that grow on the same soil, have an affinity to each other, so it is to be expected that the circumstance of their having been born nearly on the same spot, will not be the only point in which they may resemble.”

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## XXI.

### DUKE OF ORLEANS.

I had the honour of being known to the Duke of Orleans during his stay in England ; and happening to be in London in June 1829, when H. R. H. visited that metropolis, with his

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I shall embrace with pleasure this opportunity of showing the interest I take in your exertions, by the zeal with which I shall patronise a new translation into the Swedish, and also into the Norwegian language, of those immortal works, which recall such pleasing recollections to the people of the North, and which, among other conceptions new and sublime, contain the idea so truly poetical, of assigning the clouds as the abode of departed heroes, and of thus rendering them witnesses of the actions, the pains, and the pleasures of their relations and friends.

The plan of a Code of Agriculture, which you inclosed in your letter, promises to be an interesting and valuable work. I have been taught from my infancy to respect, and to cherish those useful men, who dedicate their time to the cultivation of the soil of their country ; and you know, Sir, that the impressions we receive in youth are never effaced.

I beg of you to inform my new colleagues of my best wishes, and to receive for yourself the assurance of the high regard in which I hold you.

(Signed) OSCAR.

Stockholm, 26th July 1817.

son, the Duc de Chartres, and understanding that they proposed taking an excursion to Scotland, I was induced to offer my services when they came to that country. The answer of the Duke of Orleans is subjoined. The Duc de Chartres made out his visit, and conducted himself in such a manner, as to attract the regard and respect of all those who had the honour of meeting with him. I do not suppose that any young man, in any station of life, could derive more advantage than the young traveller did, from such an excursion.

*To the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*

Neuilly sur Seine, 23. Juin 1829.

Je suis bien sensible, Monsieur, à la lettre que vous avez eu l'attention de m'écrire. Je vous prie de croire aux regrets que j'éprouve de ne pouvoir profiter de votre aimable invitation. Mon fils, qui va seul en Ecosse, sera charmé de vous y voir ; et c'est un vrai plaisir pour moi, Monsieur, de vous offrir, avec mes remerciemens très sincères, l'assurance de tous mes sentimens pour vous. Votre affectionné,

LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS \*.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart. }  
George Street, Edinburgh. }

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\* Translation.

SIR,

I duly appreciate the letter which you have been so attentive as to write to me. I beg of you to believe how much I regret, that I cannot avail myself of your kind invitation. My son, who goes alone to Scotland, will be delighted to see you there ; and it affords me much pleasure to offer you, together with my sincere thanks, the assurance of my continued regard.

Yours affectionately,

LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS.



**PART II.**

**CORRESPONDENCE WITH BRITISH  
CABINET MINISTERS,**

**AND**

**REMINISCENCES OF THEM.**





# CORRESPONDENCE WITH BRITISH CABINET MINISTERS,

AND

## REMINISCENCES OF THEM.

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### *Reflections on the General Character and Qualifications of British Statesmen.*

SOME persons from pure, but mistaken principles, and others from ignorance, envy, or malevolence, have raised a clamour against the political classes, and what they term "*The trade of politics.*" They are so little enlightened as to suppose, that any man who can read the columns of a newspaper, and can make a few flippant remarks on our foreign or domestic policy, is fit for the management of public affairs \*. It may be proper, therefore, to consider, the

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\* The downfall of the Spanish Cortes proves the unfitness of persons, even of respectable abilities, and of the best intentions, when they have not been trained to politics, to conduct the complicated concerns of a great nation. Had the Cortes been directed by individuals as much distinguished for their experience and abilities, as for zeal, they would have made a longer, and, it is probable, a more successful struggle for the freedom of their country. They would have taken better measures to unite all classes in the common cause ; they would have avoided giving unnecessary offence to foreign courts ; they would have more diligently provided pecuniary resources for carrying on a war ; they would have raised an army in proportion to the emergencies of the case ; they would have selected

powers and labour that are required, the expenses that must be incurred, and the many other circumstances which must unite, in the formation of “ *a real statesman*.”

1. A person to be fit for conducting public affairs, must possess considerable natural talents, and those, not merely of a showy, but of a solid nature ; and where the government is principally placed in popular assemblies, a competent share of eloquence, not only to state his opinions with distinctness, but also to defend them with ability, when attacked.

2. A statesman likewise requires a thorough acquaintance with ancient as well as modern history, so as to be able to trace the rise and effects of the different laws, and systems of government established in other countries, and to judge how far they are applicable to his own.

3. He ought to be conversant with the laws of the land in which he lives, without which he cannot judge of the propriety of any new enactments that may be proposed ; and he should likewise have some general knowledge of the judicial systems of other states.

4. He must not be ignorant of the forms, and order of proceedings, in that branch of the legislature of which he is a member, for he would then often be unable to take a share in the business under discussion.

5. As a statesman has frequently matters to settle with other nations as well as his own, he ought to be acquainted with their language, and especially with French, as the general diplomatic language of Europe. He ought likewise to have visited foreign countries, that he may be able to form an opinion of the character of their inhabitants, the disposition of their rulers, and the policy they are likely to pursue.

6. In this country, a statesman who wishes to procure a seat in the House of Commons as a county member, must often incur great expense. It is necessary, for example, that

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Generals who might have been relied on for their fidelity, and would have taken their means of defence earlier, in which case, as Spain is a country where a large hostile army cannot easily be maintained, and on which, from its natural defences, a small body of troops can make no lasting impression, they could scarcely, with any prudent management, have been conquered.

he should make himself popular in his own county, by living in a hospitable manner with his neighbours, attending public meetings, supporting provincial amusements, and promoting local improvement ; and as he must annually quit his country residence to live in London, it is obvious that he must be possessed of an independent fortune.

7. He should be capable of great bodily as well as mental exertion ; for the labour of regular attendance on parliamentary duty is too much for many constitutions. The number of committees he must attend in the morning,—the risk of being a member of an election committee, (the lengthened duration and protracted sittings of which are often fatal to health),—the inconvenient hours at which the House usually assembles, and the long time spent in its debates, all prove what a fatiguing and hazardous life a British Politician is compelled to lead.

8. All free governments are, more or less, divided into parties, and each of these parties struggles to obtain the direction of public affairs. Whichever succeeds, some statesmen must be disappointed in the objects they had in view, and this often after a long period of public exertion. In Great Britain, in particular, “ *The game of politics*” is a most hazardous lottery, and the situation of a statesman much less desirable than is often supposed. The prizes are few, and do not consist of absolute property ; nor are they even secured for life, except where titles are bestowed ; but, on the contrary, are generally held by a most precarious tenure. Official situations, in particular, are only possessed during the prevalence of a particular party, which may be driven from power, and its unfortunate adherents dismissed on the shortest notice. In addition to all this, a Member of the British Parliament, finds that his domestic enjoyments are materially encroached on,—his spirits depressed by fatigue,—and his temper soured, if he succeeds in obtaining an appointment, by the vexations of office \*.

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\* I had once a discussion with a gentleman, who had been for a great number of years in public situations, upon the effects of such appointments on the cha-

Thus the life of a Politician is not much to be envied. It is evident, indeed, from the above details, which are the result of much experience in public concerns, that the occupation of a statesman requires great industry, talents, labour, and expense, and considered merely *as a profession*, that it is very poorly rewarded. The salaries they receive are scarcely ever adequate to their expenses. Hence they who have been long in the cabinet, usually die poor. Some are inclined to be of opinion, that the services of those who are employed in public business, should be obtained *at the least possible expense*. But, surely, the great object ought to be, not to save a few paltry items of expenditure, *but to secure the services of able men*. It is highly impolitic to exclude those from political situations, who have not money enough to maintain themselves independent of office. I remember having heard it stated as a reason, why a great continental power had the most inefficient ministers in Europe, "that they were the worst paid, and that none but the rich could take office."

Notwithstanding all the disadvantages attending it, there are never wanting, however, a sufficient number of persons, anxious to obtain seats in Parliament, and thus to enter on the career of politics. The objects which commonly influence their conduct may be briefly enumerated.

1. *To obtain fame*.—But this is rarely practicable. The character and talents of a statesman, may be warmly eulogized by one set of men, but will be as loudly reprobated by another, and the public do not well know which to believe.

2. *The acquisition of wealth*.—Though some individuals and families have profited by enjoying official situations, yet many more have been ruined. Lord Chesterfield, in his Letters to his Son, (No. 89, vol. iv. p. 565), informs us, that the

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racter of those who were thus elevated into power. He said, that he had never seen a minister, after his appointment to any high situation, who had preserved his temper : That the Marquis of Carmarthen, (afterwards Duke of Leeds), who had been appointed by Mr Pitt, Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, was the person who had preserved it the longest ; but that in the space of a few months, even his good temper was subdued, and he became as irritable as his predecessors.

famous Duke of Newcastle, after holding great offices for fifty years, died L.300,000 poorer than when he first came into power.

3. *Rank*.—The acquisition of hereditary titles is certainly a desirable object, more especially when bestowed for public services. Indeed, when a British Peerage is bestowed, it is not only accompanied with political power, but if the private fortune of the individual be inadequate, his family is, in general, provided for at the public expense \*.

4. *Personal decorations*.—These distinctions, when discriminatedly awarded, cannot be objected to, more especially as they die with the person on whom they are originally bestowed. It is a cheap way of recompensing public services.

5. *Patronage*.—Fox often declared, “That the pleasures of patronage, seemed to him the circumstance which chiefly rendered the possession of political power desirable.” It is patronage, and not pecuniary emolument, which all high-minded men covet. To be enabled to provide for friends; to succour the indigent; to patronise merit;—these are the noble objects which stimulate every young man of superior abilities to exert his utmost talents in the British Senate, with the hope of recommending himself to the notice of his fellow men, and of rising perhaps, at some period of his life, to the rank of a minister. Thus all the wit, talent, and spirit of the country crowd into the House of Commons, and there get improved and polished by collision; and hence, however imperfect in theory the mode of election may be, yet still the greatest good is in reality produced. Hence too the reason, that the British Senate contains so large a proportion of all that is best and noblest in the country; hence a Senate is formed, the most inaccessible to the bribes of foreigners

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\* When peerages were few, these burdens on the public were not materially felt; but as the number is so rapidly increasing, would it not be desirable to restrict each new title to a certain number of generations, and let the rank gradually diminish every generation, until it became extinct, unless revived by the crown? Were this idea adopted, the House of Peers would become more useful and respectable.

abroad, or to the menaces of kings at home, that any country has ever boasted. But if that great object, *patronage*, the hope of which has thus concentrated all these excellencies in the British Senate, were taken away ;—if the situation of Prime Minister were no longer worthy to attract the eye of the ardent, or the hope of the intelligent,—that arena, in which all the vigour of early talents, and the judgment of riper years delight to meet, would soon become a mere assembly of tame and listless spectators, who, as in times long past, would expect to be paid by their constituents, for attending to register the dictates of the Sovereign \*.

6. *The pleasure of being a public benefactor*.—This is an object to which the attention of political men is not in general sufficiently directed. Yet there are not wanting instances of persons who have devoted themselves to promote the public good, and to benefit their country. But how can so laudable a desire be generally felt, as long as the great majority of politicians are at the same time *party men*, who do not view even national prosperity with much delight, unless they and their own friends derive some credit from it ; and who rarely deplore national adversity with sincerity of feeling, if it tends to throw a slur on the conduct of their political opponents ; and far less, if it is likely to be the means of driving them from power ? Such are the mischievous effects of party spirit, when carried to an extreme.

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Great danger is likely to accrue to this country whenever the Ministers of the Crown are distinguished more for brilliant oratory, than for solid talents, or extensive information ; in which case they would be better calculated for making a figure in the arena of the House of Commons, than for managing the complicated concerns of an extensive empire.

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\* Comm. Economy by the Rev. William Cockburn, 1819, chap. 3. p. 27, 30.

The inferiority of a mere eloquent speaker, for the government of a great country, is most ably pointed out, and philosophically accounted for, by the celebrated Dugald Stewart, in the following comparison he has drawn between an orator and a statesman :

“ Argumentative address is but of little value, compared to other endowments subservient to our intellectual improvement. Promptness of reply, and dogmatism of decision, which mark the eager and practised disputant, are almost infallible symptoms of a limited capacity, and of a mind deficient in solid understanding. That species of understanding, when cultivated by study, and directed to great objects or pursuits, produces an unprejudiced, comprehensive, and efficient mind ; and where it is wanting, though we may occasionally find a more than ordinary share of quickness and of information ; a plausibility and brilliancy of discourse ; and that passive susceptibility of polish from the commerce of the world, which is so often united with imposing but secondary talents, we may rest assured, that there exists a total incompetency for enlarged views, and sagacious combinations, either in the researches of science, or in the conduct of affairs \*.”

It has been justly remarked by the same distinguished philosopher, that those who have acquired a talent for business are not formed for conducting, with success, the affairs of a country, *in new and untried situations*, which require extensive views, and a vigorous and comprehensive genius. Burke has well observed, “ That men, too much conversant in office, are rarely minds of remarkable enlargement. Their habits of office are apt to give them a turn to think the substance of business not to be much more important than the forms in which it is conducted. These forms are adapted to ordinary occasions ; and, therefore, persons who are nurtured in office, do admirably well, as long as things go on in their

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\* Stewart's Elements, chap. 3. sect. 2. vol. ii. p. 298.



common order ; but when the high roads are broken up, and the waters out, when a new and troubled scene is opened, and the file affords no precedent, then it is that a greater knowledge of mankind, and a far more extensive comprehension of things is requisite, than ever office gave, or than office can ever give."

Men of general views possess a natural superiority over the common drudges in business, whose ideas are minute and circumscribed. Besides, when the situations they hold are important, men of the most general views are found not to be inferior to the vulgar in their attention to details ; because the objects and occurrences which such situations present, rouse their passions, and interest their curiosity, from the magnitude of the consequences to which they lead.

When theoretical knowledge and practical skill are happily combined in the same person, the intellectual power of man appears in its full perfection, and fits him equally to conduct, with a masterly hand, the details of ordinary business, and to contend successfully with the untried difficulties of new and hazardous situations. In the former, mere experience may frequently be a sufficient guide ; but in the latter, experience and speculation must be combined. "Expert men," says Lord Bacon, "can execute and judge of particulars one by one ; but the general counsels, and the plots, and the marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned \*."

The influence of the Crown, or of the Minister, has long been the theme of reprobation ; but most unjustly ; for without such influence, the business of the public could not be carried on. In a mixed Government like ours, such a reasonable extent of patronage as may enable a Minister to resist that natural inclination to opposition, which all men feel towards those above them, and that constant love of change, which is frequently impressed upon weak minds, cannot be

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\* Stewart's Elements, vol. i. chap. 4. sect. 8. p. 229. and 234.

safely dispensed with. It is certainly much to be lamented, that the management of the two Houses is so difficult, that it must principally engross the attention of a Minister; and hence he often becomes more anxious to obtain a few votes in Parliament, than to secure the successful result of any foreign negociation, however important. Nor has he sufficient leisure, to consider those great objects of internal improvement, which ought chiefly to engage his attention. It cannot indeed be questioned, that the constitution of Great Britain is too complicated, and the empire too extensive, to be governed so well as it ought to be. The wonder is, that we have reached the height of power we have done, with the numerous obstacles to our advancement, with which we have had to contend.

I shall now proceed to lay before the reader letters from some of the most eminent Statesmen who have shared in the government of this country for the last fifty years, with such remarks as may occur, regarding their character and conduct.

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## I.

## LORD NORTH.

THE minister who held the reins of government when I first entered into public life in 1780, was Lord North, who, after his father's death, became Earl of Guilford. He had an animated spirit in a sluggish frame; and there was a constant struggle which of the two should predominate. He was an excellent leader of a party in the House of Commons; and indeed by many, and, in particular, by his great rival Mr Fox, was considered the most accomplished speaker that had ever sat in Parliament. In questions of finance he was clear, explicit, and accurate. He never weakened his argument, (when he was in the right), by superfluous, though ingenious declamation, but spoke to the point with force, precision, and perspicuity. He had wit at command, of which he made great use in his speeches in Parliament; but he took no pleasure in business unconnected with the domestic interests of the country. He was indeed so much tormented with the difficulties arising from the American war, that he often lamented the success with which Columbus had accomplished his voyage to America, contending, that Europe would have gone on much better without that discovery. On the whole, though a very able man, and a skilful financier, yet he had not activity enough to preside over an extensive empire, such as Great Britain had become previous to his being intrusted with its government. The American war was considered by him merely as a secondary object; and no judicious steps were taken, either to prevent it from taking place at all, or to carry it on, after it had become inevitable, with that energy which alone could give it any chance of success.

Having hinted to Sir Grey Cooper, who took an active part in managing the business of the House of Commons, that I would have no objection to second the address when the House met in November 1781, I was much gratified to receive the following communication from Lord North himself, in answer to that suggestion.

Bushy Park, Nov. 13. 1781.

SIR,

I cannot sufficiently express how much I feel myself obliged to you for the letter you wrote to Sir Grey Cooper, offering to second the address. I had already written to a mover and a seconder, or I should have availed myself of your very kind and friendly offer. But although this circumstance prevents me from having recourse to you, either as mover or seconder, I hope that we shall have your assistance in support of the address. The difficulties in which we are involved by the present situation of public affairs, added to the abilities, activity and violence of our opposers, will render it necessary for his Majesty's servants to call for the support of all their friends. On your zeal and friendly attachment I know we may depend, and I feel great satisfaction in that conviction; and I hope and trust that nothing will prevent you from giving us your countenance and support.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and respect, Sir,  
your most faithful humble servant,

NORTH.

The only anecdote of Lord North, in which I was personally interested, which I can recollect at this distance of time, is the following: Dining one day with that minister, at his official house in *Downing Street*, I happened to remark, that it seemed conveniently situated for carrying on public business. "It is so, (he said), but you are not probably aware of its great advantages in times of popular commotion, of which I have very recently had experience. The street is narrow at its entrance, and consequently can be easily defended, and it

has no other outlet. The house, though large behind, yet presents but a small front, having there only three windows on a floor ; and in case of necessity, there is an easy access behind, for receiving military aid from the Horse-Guards, where troops are always stationed." The frightful events, which had taken place not long before, in consequence of Lord George Gordon's anti-catholic mobs \*, gave rise to these observations.

The following anecdote will give some idea of Lord North's happiness of allusion, and playfulness of mind. He was often lulled into a profound sleep, by the somniferous oratory of some of the parliamentary speakers. Sir Grey Cooper, (one of the Secretaries of the Treasury), meanwhile took notes of the principal arguments of his opponents, which, by glancing his eye over the paper, Lord North was enabled immediately to answer. On a naval question, a member thought proper to give an historical detail of the origin and progress of ship-building, which he deduced from Noah's ark, and in regular order brought down to the Spanish Armada. Sir Grey inadvertently awoke his Lordship at this period ; who asked, to what era the honourable gentleman had arrived ? Being told, " to the reign of Queen Elizabeth," he instantly replied, " Dear Sir Grey, why did you not let me sleep *a century or two more ?*"

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## II.

### THE EARL OF SANDWICH.

Among the distinguished characters with whom my father had travelled during his visit to the Continent, the Earl of Sandwich was one for whom he had entertained a particular regard. I therefore felt a species of hereditary respect for

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\* These mobs took place in May and June 1780.

him, and when I became a member of the House, was anxious to give him every support in my power. I found, however, with much regret, that though he possessed considerable abilities, he had no turn for business. He appeared to me a gay and dissipated character, well calculated for shining at a Court, but not fit for presiding at the head of a public board, on the energy and exertions of which the prosperity of the Navy of England depended. I was convinced, indeed, that it was necessary for the public interest to have him removed from that situation. Upon mentioning this to a friend of mine, Mr Bamber Gascoigne, member for Liverpool, and adding, "That the changing one member of an administration would be no great loss to it, more especially if he was not a very efficient minister;" he replied, "Be assured that you are quite mistaken; for it is a general rule, that an administration is like a set of nine pins. *If you knock down one, the others are very apt to follow in succession.*"

I particularly regretted being obliged to set myself against Lord Sandwich, having received from him the following letter, conceived in very flattering terms, requesting my attendance on the inquiry going forward into the noble Lord's conduct in the naval department.

*Letter from the Earl of Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty,  
to John Sinclair, Esq. M. P.*

SIR,

The civilities I have received from you, encourage me to solicit the favour of your attendance during the course of the naval inquiry, which will probably come on without delay. As I wish to preserve your good opinion, I can do nothing so proper, as begging of you to attend impartially to the examination of my conduct, since I have had the honour of serving his Majesty in the naval department. I am, with great regard, your most obedient and most humble servant,

SANDWICH.

Admiralty. Jan. 20. 1782.

John Sinclair, Esq.

*Copy of the Answer.*

MY LORD,

I have the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter; and I since understand, that a motion for an inquiry into the naval department, is to be made in the House on Thursday next. I certainly shall attend that inquiry, and flatter myself, that there is nothing which can appear from it, sufficient to alter the favourable idea I would wish to entertain of the conduct of the Earl of Sandwich. I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN SINCLAIR.

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III.

LORD VISCOUNT STORMONT.

This Minister was nephew to that celebrated Judge, the Earl of Mansfield, and was himself a person of considerable talents. He had shewn me attention during an excursion I had made to Paris, where he was then our Ambassador, and I was anxious to repay those civilities, if an opportunity presented itself. When war was declared against France, he returned to England, and was appointed Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, a situation for which he was considered to be peculiarly qualified, from his great experience in diplomatic concerns.

It was most unfortunate that Lord Stormont and his brother Ministers continued to cherish the idea of conquering America, long after every rational hope of success was at an end, both from the frequent defeats we had experienced there, and the powerful aid given to the new Republic by France, by Spain, and by Holland. Our Ministers, however, still resolved to consider the Americans as rebels, and refused treating them as independent states, which virtually they had become, by the acknowledgment of the principal powers of Eu-

rope. This led to an occurrence, with which I happened to be particularly connected, and which might have produced very important results, if our Ministers had acted on different principles.

Mr Laurens, one of the most distinguished natives of America, had been sent by Congress to Europe, with full powers, in conjunction with the American Ministers then at Paris, to negotiate a treaty of peace with England. In his way to France he was captured by a British frigate, and sent to Portsmouth, whence he was conveyed to London, where he remained on his parole. He was particularly well acquainted with my friend Mr Oswald, (who was afterwards employed by the British Government to negotiate the treaty with America in Paris), and thus Mr Laurens and I became extremely intimate. We were thence led to talk over, with perfect freedom, the means of adjusting terms of peace between the two countries. I was convinced that there was an opening for settling the unfortunate contest, and wished to have a full discussion with Mr Laurens on the subject. I sent him a note, therefore, requesting his company to dinner, and his answer I have accidentally preserved.

“ Mr Laurens presents his compliments, and would with great pleasure wait on Mr Sinclair on Friday next, to dine, but Mr Sinclair’s note found him in the very act of preparing to go out of town to-morrow morning. He will, however, be in London on Saturday or Sunday next, and will have the honour of paying his respects in a day or two after.

Norfolk Street, 9th May 1784.”

We met soon after, when he told me, that though being at large, and under no personal restraint, he could find little difficulty in going to Paris, yet that nothing would induce him to break his parole. He authorised me, however, to inform the British Government, that if they would consent to his going to Paris, he would ascertain on what terms a peace could be



made between the two countries, and that he would return with that information. He hinted, at the same time, that the terms, he was convinced, would be more favourable than our Ministers were aware of. I lost no time in communicating to Lord Stormont a circumstance, which I thought would be so acceptable to the British Government. But to my astonishment, the noble Lord, instead of being gratified with the information, received it in a most ungracious manner. He said, the British Government considered the Americans *as rebels*, and had no doubt that it would yet be in their power to *subdue their rebellion* : That if Laurens went to Paris, *it would be at his peril*, &c. &c.

I had always been of opinion that the Americans would give better terms to Lord North and his colleagues, than they would to any administration composed of those who had befriended the cause of America in Parliament, and on whom, consequently, they had some hold. I had about this time formed a party of independent members of the House, among whom were Sir William Dolben, Sir Henry Hoghton, Mr Gilbert, member for Litchfield, and others, who were all anxious to put an end to a war, which had been so miserably conducted, and from which no success could then be expected. Upon communicating to these respectable members the transaction with Mr Laurens, they immediately resolved publicly to declare their wishes for peace. Lord North, seeing himself abandoned by those very men, on whose support he had greatly depended, resolved to resign, to which the King most reluctantly assented. The public were quite astonished at an event so much unlooked for. When Lord North announced it in Parliament, and proposed that a motion, of which Lord Surrey had given notice, should in consequence be postponed, it was suspected to be an insidious manœuvre, and that some deep political intrigue was at the bottom of it. So much did this feeling prevail, that the postponement was with much difficulty agreed to. Lord North's administration could not at any rate have been long prolonged ; but little was it known,

how much the arrival of Mr Laurens in England, and my conferences with him, had contributed to its dissolution, and how much better terms could have been previously obtained than were ultimately agreed to.

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## IV.

## THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT.

This distinguished Statesman began his political career with a speech in the House of Commons, which had never been surpassed, and but rarely equalled by any ever delivered in that assembly. I still recollect the thunder of applause, and indeed the utter astonishment with which it was received by an audience accustomed to the most splendid efforts of eloquence. All who heard it concurred in opinion, "That the young orator must soon fill one of the highest offices in the government of his country."

I had come into Parliament some months before Mr Pitt, and had made some appearances which had been favourably received ; and as an active and rising young member, I was honoured by a message from Mr Pitt, through his brother-in-law, Lord Mahon, expressing a strong wish to become acquainted with me. A meeting was appointed at Lord Mahon's, where we had a conference which lasted for above two hours, and which laid the foundation of our future intercourse. During this conference, he expressed his sentiments with so much ardour and ability, in support of those measures which seemed to me best calculated to promote the prosperity and happiness of the country, that I felt the highest gratification, in having formed an acquaintance, and laid the foundation of a future intimacy, with so promising a young statesman.

In the great contest which took place between him and his rival Mr Fox, in 1784, I strained every nerve to support Mr

Pitt. How far I was able to be of service to him at that time, will appear from the following letters, one from himself, and the other from his confidential friend, John James Hamilton, Esq. afterwards Marquis of Abercorn.

*Letter from Mr Pitt to John Sinclair, Esq.*

MY DEAR SIR,

I find the enemy are circulating, that *I said in my last speech I would resign, in case of an address being carried*. I take for granted they think this impression would help them in the division, if they move it, on Monday. The fact is, as I recollect, that I said nothing one way or other on that supposition; but merely challenged them either to *impeach or address*, if they were dissatisfied with my reasons for remaining after the resolutions. You will, I am sure, forgive my troubling you with this, for your *private use*, if you think it worth while to take any way of counteracting this idea. Perhaps you may have some opportunity to see how it is understood to-day. I am, Dear Sir, your faithful and obed. sert,

W. PITT.

Saturday, Jan. 31. 5 o'clock.

*Letter from J. J. Hamilton, Esq. of Abercorn, M. P. to John Sinclair, Esq. M. P.*

DEAR SIR,

I am just come from Pitt, who is much obliged to you for your friendly support and assistance. We agree that Mr Luttrell's appearance in his favour on Monday will be a very desirable circumstance. There will probably be a division; but, at all events, the presence of independent and respectable friends, will be in the highest degree desirable. I am, Dear Sir, in haste, but with real respect and regard, your most obedient and faithful servant,

J. J. HAMILTON.

5 o'clock.

In the year 1785, owing to a severe family affliction \*, I had some intention of retiring from public life, and offered to resign my seat for Lestwithiel, in Cornwall, which I had procured through the medium of the Minister. The friendly feeling he expressed, in the following letter he sent me on that occasion, does him much credit.

*Letter from Mr Pitt to John Sinclair, Esq.*

Downing Street, May 17. 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,

I feel very sensibly the kind proof of your zeal and friendship at such a moment, and truly lament the unfortunate cause which deprives us at present of your assistance. As far as numbers are in question, a single vote, though always of some consequence, is, I trust, not now so material as once seemed possible. I am not, however, the less thankful to you for the accommodation you propose, though very glad to think it unnecessary. Believe me, my Dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

W. PITT.

In 1786, I resolved to make an extensive tour through the northern countries of Europe, which, in a political point of view, were at that time probably the most interesting. I found, wherever I went, the strongest wish to obtain some accurate account of the splendid character and brilliant talents of that great statesman, who had recently appeared on the stage of British politics. I was in consequence induced to draw up in French, the following brief sketch of the endowments of the British Minister. The celebrated Mirabeau,

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\* The loss of my first wife, Sarah, daughter of Alexander Maitland, Esq. of Stoke Newington, to whom I was much attached. It was to relieve the grief I felt on that melancholy event, that I took a long journey through all the northern countries of Europe, which shall afterwards be frequently alluded to. She left only two daughters, Sarah, who wrote the celebrated letter, "On the Principles of the Christian Faith," which has gone through sixteen editions, and Janet, married to Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, Baronet.

whom I met at Berlin, and with whom I had much friendly intercourse, expressed himself highly gratified with this sketch, and undertook to improve the style, as I was not thoroughly master of the niceties of the French language. He returned it with a note, of which the following is a copy :

“ Je vous renvoie votre portrait de Pitt, avec quelques corrections de style, et j’y joins les trois lettres que vous avez désirées pour Paris. Faites m’écrire, je vous prie, jusqu’à quelle heure precise de demain matin, ou de ce soir, je puis garder les feuilles que vous m’avez confiées. J’espere avoir l’honneur de vous voir encore, avant votre depart \*.

19. Novembre 1786.”

*Character of the Right Honourable William Pitt.*

Drawn up by Sir John Sinclair, at Petersburg, in August 1786, and the language afterwards corrected by Mirabeau at Berlin.

Guillaume Pitt, premier Ministre d’Angleterre, peut avoir, à present, environs vingt-sept à vingt-huit ans. Tout jeune qu’il est, il n’y a personne dans le royaume, qui puisse lui contester l’emploie qu’il occupe. Charles Fox, son rival dans la chambre basse, a, sans doute, la tête bien organisée pour les affaires publiques ; mais il est dissipé, occupé par les jeux les plus hazardés, et d’un caractere si facile, qu’il est toujours plus prêt à suivre les mauvaises idées de ceux qui l’environnent, que les siennes, qui sont communément, par elles-mêmes, assez saines. Il a aussi eu l’absurdité de se rendre ennemi personel du Roi, par des expressions, et des discours, impolis et meprisans ; et quoiqu’un Roi d’Angleterre soit quelquefois obligé de donner l’administration des affaires, et le gouvernement du royaume, à des personnes qu’il n’aime pas, il peut cependant rendre la situation d’un tel ministre

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\* The note was accompanied by letters of introduction to three of his friends, who, he said, were the three most interesting characters in Paris. These were, 1. Talleyrand, then the Abbé Perigord ; 2. The Marquis de la Fayette ; and, 3. Panchaud the celebrated Banker. The first unfortunately was not in Paris. The two latter gave me the most cordial reception, as a friend of Mirabeau.

tres desagréable, et il se sert, avec raison, de la première occasion favorable, pour chasser un officier, qui oublie les devoirs et le respect dus à son souverain, quand ce changement n'est pas contraire au bonheur public.

Le caractère de Monsieur Pitt est tout-à-fait différent. Dans sa vie domestique il est si temperé, que ses ennemis même, lui reprochent sa continence comme un crime ; et l'Angleterre est à présent si dégénérée, qu'il y a des personnes qui soutiennent, sans rougir, qu'un ministre d'état est incapable de remplir les fonctions de son emploi, sans s'abandonner quelquefois aux excès. Il aime le travail, et il s'occupe sans cesse des affaires qui en dependent. Il reçoit avec plaisir des informations de quelque personne que ce soit, mais il poursuit toujours ses propres sentimens, sans se rendre aux sentimens des autres, soit par lassitude, ou par foiblesse. Personne ne comprend un sujet plus promptement que lui. Il lui arrive quelquefois, comme à d'autres personnes habiles et pénétrantes, de décider trop vite ; mais il ne craint pas de changer son opinion, quand il est convaincu par la raison.

Son éloquence ressemble à celle de Cicéron. Elle est pleine, et non concise. Il ne manque jamais un mot, même quand il parle sans s'y être préparé : et ses périodes sont si élégantes, et si bien arrangées, qu'il est impossible d'en rayer, ou d'en alterer un mot. Toute cette élégance est aussi accompagnée de force, de feu, et d'esprit ; et il est justement distingué par cette rare félicité, que quand il se leve au sublime le plus grand, il ne descend jamais à la hauteur, d'où il prend son essor.

Il surmonte les difficultés de son état avec beaucoup de succès. Il est ferme, mais respectueux, à l'égard de son souverain. Il est attentif et sociable avec ses amis, et ceux qui le supportent dans les deux chambres de Parlement ; et il fait tout son possible pour se rendre populaire, par une attention continuelle aux véritables intérêts de sa patrie, et non par une complaisance aveugle aux préjugés du peuple. Quand il est

une fois décidé, il ne craint rien ; et ses amis esperent, en consequence, avec beaucoup de raison, qu'il fera un ministre de la guerre, aussi heureux, et aussi formidable, que l'a été son pere, le fameux Chatham, et qu'il l'imitera, avec une attention invariable, aux merites de ceux en qui il mettra sa confiance, aussi bien qu'en la force et en la grandeur de son esprit.

Il s'est aussi occupé jusqu'à present de l'administration interne, qui étoit dans un tres grand desordre. Il a arrangé les finances d'Angleterre d'une façon que peu des personnes pensoit possible. Il a non seulement trouvé des ressources pour toutes les debtes publiques, accumulées par l'extravagance des ministres pendant la guerre Americaine, mais il a aussi mit en sureté un surplus d'un million de livres sterling, pour affranchir la nation des charges dont elle est accablée. On dit, qu'il se propose de s'appliquer aussi à l'avenir aux politiques étrangères, pour placer l'Angleterre, dans cette situation respectable, à laquelle elle a droit, chez les souverains du monde, et de faire tous les traités necessaires, pour augmenter le commerce de sa patrie, et pour conserver la balance de l'Europe.

Enfin, pour repeter les complimens, qu'on lui a fait dans le Parlement, même par mi Lord North, un de ces rivaux et predecesseurs, "*Il est né ministre, et il ressemble à un diamant sans tache.*"

Such was the opinion which I then entertained of this celebrated Minister ; and for some time I had no reason to express myself otherwise. At first, indeed, he gave me the entrée to his house in Downing Street, and the porter had instructions to admit me whenever I called, as if I had been a member of the Cabinet. Gradually we became more estranged, and ultimately our intercourse was chiefly carried on through the medium of Mr Secretary Dundas, by whose friendly and patriotic assistance, I obtained the support of the Minister to some measures of great national importance.

The first of these was the issue of Exchequer bills in 1792, for the relief of the commercial and manufacturing interests.

I had proposed to move the appointment of a select committee, for the consideration of this subject; but was informed by Mr Dundas, to whom I had communicated my intention, "That unless something definite was previously arranged, the appointment of any committee to take up the subject loosely, might produce mischief, with very little prospect of good; but that if I had any *specific ideas* to state, Government would be glad to receive them." In consequence of this hint, I transmitted to Mr Pitt, on the 16th of April 1793, my plan for restoring the commercial credit of the country; and, on the 24th of April following, that minister informed me that the plan had been approved of by his Majesty's Government, and that he wished to see me next morning, to fix on the members who should compose the committee.

There never was a measure attended with more complete success. On the particulars it is unnecessary here to enter. But unfortunately I could not prevail upon the Minister to concur in another part of my proposed system, by which those commercial distresses, which have since so frequently occurred, would, in a great degree, have been prevented. My suggestion was, to check the unlimited power of issuing notes payable to the bearer on demand, by compelling bankers to find security for such issues. When I pressed Mr Pitt to adopt that part of the system, which seemed to me indispensably necessary, he replied, "That he could not at the moment give it all the consideration it required; and as the rest of the measure had succeeded so well, there was no urgent necessity for bringing the remainder of the plan forward at present." The want of such security, however, was the chief circumstance which brought on the crisis of 1797, and rendered the restriction on cash-payments at the Bank unavoidable. At that period I made another attempt to establish the system of licensing country bankers, but was equally unsuccessful\*.

The second public measure to which I procured Mr Pitt's

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\* All these particulars are fully detailed in the History of the Revenue, third edition, vol. ii. p. 287 and 330.



assent, by the influence of Mr Dundas \*, was to the establishment of a Board of Agriculture, an institution which was productive of incalculable advantages to the country. To its establishment the country principally owed its rapid advancement in rural economy. It introduced indeed a spirit of enterprise and invention, and attached a dignity and consequence to the study and practice of husbandry, which it never before possessed.

I could not prevail on Mr Pitt, however, to support, with all the zeal I wished, this important institution, nor to assist me in carrying through a general bill of inclosure, which I had introduced, and carried through the House of Commons, but which was thrown out by the Chancellor Loughborough in the Lords. The bill was very obnoxious to some powerful individuals, as it tended materially to affect the income of the Speaker of the House of Commons, and of the Chancellor or Speaker of the House of Lords, for which, however, they might have been compensated. Perhaps there might be a feeling also, that the carrying through such a bill, was a greater public benefaction than any private individual ought to be permitted to confer.

In 1795, being of opinion that the British Government were too anxious for a continuance of the war, and had not made sufficient efforts to procure an honourable peace, I resolved on the formation of an independent party, to compel the Ministers to enter into negotiations with the French Republic. The consequence of this was, the celebrated conferences at Lisle. These proved abortive, owing to the violence of the French Directory. When the papers regarding that negotiation were brought under the consideration of the House, an address was proposed by the Minister, on which I

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\* Lord Melville assured me, that Mr Pitt and he were the only Members in the cabinet who supported the establishment of the Board. The first Lord Lansdowne paid the institution a high compliment, when he said, " That it was the only beneficial act done in the whole course of Mr Pitt's administration." See Mr Arthur Young's Lecture on the Origin and Advantages of the Board of Agriculture."

moved an amendment ; and on that occasion he made a speech, which was afterwards published with his own corrections. It was certainly the ablest of his printed orations, and the most likely to give the reader a high idea of his oratorical powers. In the course of that speech, he most earnestly entreated me to give up the amendment I had proposed, and not to disturb the unanimity of the House. A number of members in succession having concurred in the same request, I was prevailed upon to agree to it.

At the commencement of the French Revolution, I had ascertained that the republic was likely to be much embarrassed by the want of saltpetre for making gunpowder. The difficulty of procuring that essential article would have been almost unsurmountable, had it not been for a most important discovery made by the French chemists, by which France was enabled to supply itself, and the importation of saltpetre from foreign countries was rendered unnecessary. The nitre of Europe, as furnished by the first processes, is a compound of nitrous acid and *calcareous earth*, and is not adapted, in its original state, for the manufacture of gunpowder. But it had been ascertained, that if this native European nitre is dissolved in water, and a quantity of potash, or vegetable alkali added, the calcareous earth might thus be separated, and true nitre procured by crystallization. Without potash, however, this could not be effected. Having accidentally heard that several vessels, bound for France, had been loaded with potash in the river Thames, (greatly to the astonishment of the merchants, who could not conceive what use the French could make of it), I immediately communicated the circumstance to Mr Pitt, suggesting the propriety of preventing the exportation of potash. With his usual promptitude and decision, he immediately ordered an embargo to be laid on the ships in question. Unfortunately, however, the cargoes were not purchased from the owners ; the potash was smuggled over to France, and gunpowder, to a considerable amount, was manufactured by means of that important article, procured from this country.

Mr Pitt was formed by nature to be an orator. He possessed, in their highest perfection, the following advantages : 1. He had great *quickness of apprehension* ; 2. His *memory* was so tenacious that he never forgot any thing that he had once learned ; and, 3. He had a *power of expression*, greater than almost any individual had ever before possessed. He had also a clear and pleasing voice, and a dignified style of speaking. With these advantages he could not fail to acquire a complete command over his audience. His principal defects as a statesman were, 1. That he was not much inclined to read any thing but classical works, and greatly undervalued modern literature ; and, 2. That he knew nothing of foreign languages, or of the characters of foreign nations, and did not seem desirous of receiving any information about them. Latterly, also, the continued possession of political power, greatly altered his original character, and he became soured and miserable from the ill success which had attended all his exertions to repress the torrent of the French Revolution. He at length would listen only to those who flattered the opinions he entertained on political subjects, and considered those in the light of personal enemies, who ventured to tell him unpalatable truths. It was impossible for a member of the House, who took so much labour to become master of all the most important branches of politics, and who was convinced that, in many respects, the affairs of the country were very inefficiently conducted, long to remain the subservient tool of a Minister of this kind.

It would require a volume to detail all the transactions which took place between us in the course of a great number of years. He was certainly a most extraordinary character, but came too soon into power, before he had acquired that political knowledge and experience, without which no man can be a successful minister, more especially in times of difficulty. Though he supported the establishment of a Board of Agriculture, it was not done with the zeal, nor was the plan carried to the extent, that seem to me necessary to render it

completely efficient. In fact, he was more inclined to promote the commerce and manufactures, than the agriculture of the country ; and he never could be prevailed upon to attend any of those Fetes, which tended so much to promote a spirit of agricultural improvement. It is singular, that he gave no encouragement to the fine arts, nor to literature. His whole mind seems to have been engrossed by politics. Latterly, he thought of nothing but how to defend his country from the infection of the destructive principles, and detestable example, of French republicanism. In that he fortunately succeeded, and hence he was justly entitled to be celebrated as “ *The Pilot who weathered the storm.*”

Mr Pitt was lively and amusing in conversation, particularly in the company of his early friends, to whom he was much attached, and who entertained for him a reciprocal regard. He condescended even to be a punster, of which I recollect a very happy instance. After my return from the tour already mentioned through the northern parts of Europe, I happened to dine in his company, when he took occasion to ask me, “ Of all the places where you have been, where did you fare best ?” My answer was, “ *In Poland* ; for the nobility live there with uncommon taste and splendour ; their cooks are French,—their confectioners Italian,—and their wine Tokay.” He immediately observed, “ I have heard before of *The Polish diet.*”

It would be improper to conclude these short hints, without alluding to Mr Pitt’s private character, in which he appeared to so much advantage. He was blameless in his morals, and on all occasions evinced the highest degree of honour and integrity. Previous to his entrance into public life, his expenses never exceeded his income, which consisted of the interest of ten thousand pounds, his original private fortune. But the inadequacy of the salary annexed to his appointments, the large expenditure unavoidably attached to them, and the impracticability of giving requisite attention to the economical

arrangement of his household, when he had to regulate the affairs of an empire, involved him in pecuniary embarrassments. These amounted, at his death, to about forty thousand pounds, and were paid by the public.

It is contended by some, that the weaknesses of private life, should not be laid open to the gaze of indiscriminate observation. On the other hand, it seems to me, that the private life of a distinguished individual is a most important subject of inquiry. How much is a public character exalted, when he acts as well in his private as in his public capacity ! And why should not the two be united, so as to produce a character, at least approaching as nearly to perfection, as is consistent with the acknowledged frailty of human nature ?

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V.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES JAMES FOX.

I had not much intercourse, personal or political, with Mr Fox, for I differed from him considerably in regard both to private conduct and public principle. He certainly possessed many valuable qualities ; and no man ever enjoyed, in a greater degree, the advantages accruing from attached friends, which his goodness of heart justly merited. His talents were of the highest order ; and while his rival, Mr Pitt, was compared to Cicero, the friends of Mr Fox contended, that he resembled Demosthenes in oratory. A clergyman from the north \*, who had heard a debate in which they had both greatly distinguished themselves, observed, “ That he thought the eloquence of Mr Pitt was like a house built *of the finest polished freestone* ; it was smooth, beautiful, and without a spot or blemish ; but the eloquence of Mr Fox, he thought, might be

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\* The Reverend Dr Skene Keith, a very active and able minister of the Church of Scotland.

compared to a house built of *Aberdeen granite*, in which there were a number of specks, but no material flaw ; and which was composed of such durable materials, that no attack, however violent, could make any impression upon it."

After having accomplished that great object, the establishment of a Board of Agriculture, my next favourite plan was, to procure the passing of "*A General Bill of Inclosure.*" About seven millions of acres in England were locked up from cultivation, by an absurd doctrine, that lands held in common, could not be divided without the authority of Parliament ; and as a law for each common and common field could not be obtained without a considerable expense, it was a very mischievous check to improvement. In one of my addresses to the Board of Agriculture, I had declared my full determination to endeavour to cut off, if it was possible,

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" Those legal bars  
Which crushed the culture of our fertile isle,"

and I left no means unattempted that could effect that important undertaking.

Upon mentioning the subject to Mr Pitt, he said, that nothing would give him more pleasure than to assist in bringing about so great an object ; but he understood that it would be found attended with almost unsurmountable difficulties. He added however, " If you can prevail upon Mr Fox to lend his aid, I shall have no objection, loaded as I am with public business, to attend the committee, and to see what, by our united exertions, we can make of it." Highly gratified with this suggestion, I immediately communicated the circumstance to Mr Fox, and requested to have the pleasure of seeing him upon the subject with as little delay as possible. The answer was as follows :

" Mr Fox presents his compliments to Sir John Sinclair, and is very sorry that he cannot have the honour of seeing Sir John early this morning, as he is obliged to attend a meeting

of the inhabitants of St Margaret and St John's. When the meeting is over, Mr Fox will wait upon Sir John, and take his chance of finding him at home.

South Street,  $\frac{3}{4}$  past twelve."

Mr Fox called as he had promised, and of course found me at home. As soon as the conference was over, I took the following memorandum of what passed on the occasion :

Mr Fox came about 3 o'clock, and staid till after 4. We talked over the subject of a Waste Land Bill; and he agreed to be a member of any select committee to be appointed, and to mention it to such of his friends as were the fittest, and the most likely to take a share in the business. He approved of the proposed regulations, but at the same time wished to have the subject fully discussed in the committee, before he pledged himself to any particular opinion. On the whole, it was very gratifying to see the leaders of two parties in Parliament taking up *so zealously* the proposed measures for the improvement of our waste lands.

There could not have been a prouder situation, than to be placed at the head of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, with Mr Pitt on the one hand, and Mr Fox on the other, to arrange a plan for adding seven millions of acres to the cultivation of the country ;—for giving employment to many thousands of the most valuable classes of the community ;—and for preventing the hazard of our being afflicted with future scarcities. I never could prevail upon Mr Fox, however, to attend the committee, after its appointment, (principally owing, I believe, to the political jealousies of some of the heads of his party); and Mr Pitt declining to be present without him, I was obliged to undertake the task of preparing a bill without the assistance of either. A general law for promoting inclosures was accordingly drawn up, with the aid of some of the ablest lawyers then at the bar; and it was rendered, by their means, so unexceptionable, that it passed the House of Commons with great eclat. But Mr Pitt unfortu-

nately, as before observed, permitted it to be thrown out in the Lords.

Under Lord Sidmouth's administration, I carried through another bill which facilitated the object in view ; and the discussions which these *public* bills occasioned, materially excited a spirit of improvement, and greatly promoted the increase of *private* bills of inclosure.

At one period I had very unexpectedly a political contest with Mr Fox, in which I had not much reason to be satisfied with the conduct of his friends, if he himself had no hand in it. In the general election which took place in 1785, Mr Fox was disappointed of his election for Westminster \*, at least until a scrutiny of votes should take place ; and all the seats in England being filled up, he had no other resource, but to endeavour to be returned for the remote district of boroughs in the north of Scotland, the election for which, on that occasion, took place at Kirkwall, in the Orkneys. I happened to be his opponent ; and if I could have proved that Mr Fox was ineligible, (which seemed to be unquestionable), I was necessarily entitled to the seat. I considered the scrutiny to be rather a vindictive measure, to keep Mr Fox out of Parliament, and declined bringing my petition forward until the scrutiny was at an end. This was considered by Mr Fox's friends, at the time, as very handsome conduct on my part ; but to my utter astonishment, when the scrutiny was over, and Mr Fox was seated for Westminster, their language and conduct completely altered. All Mr Fox's friends in the House attended the ballot, that a committee might be procured as favourable as possible to

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\* It is hardly to be credited the exertions that were made to secure Mr Fox's election for Westminster, and the popular spirit that was raised for his support. A friend of mine, Lord Grimstone, who being then only an Irish Peer, was entitled to vote, went in his carriage to the hustings to vote for Sir Cecil Wray. When he returned to his carriage, his coachman said to him, " I hope that your Lordship will now allow me to poll," Certainly, (said Lord Grimstone), and for whom are you to vote ? " Why, for Mr Fox to be sure, my Lord." To which Lord Grimstone very good-naturedly replied, " I wish, John, that you had told me sooner, and we might then have paired off."



his views. Mr Erskine, the celebrated counsel, undertook, for the last time, to plead before an election committee, and did not fail to represent my conduct in the most invidious terms. In short, every exertion was made to carry the point, as if the safety of the empire depended upon Mr Fox's success in this contest. I had then the satisfaction of employing, for the first time before a committee of the House of Commons, the celebrated Sir William Grant; and such ability was displayed by him upon that occasion, that it was generally admitted, if he had been *the sole counsel*, that I must have carried the cause.

In March 1802, I sent some papers to Mr Fox on the subject of the waste lands, for which I received, written with his own hand, the following acknowledgment:

SIR,

I received by last night's coach your packet, containing three printed pieces, and the letter you did me the honour to write me on the 8th instant. I have not yet had time even to look at the papers, but would not delay returning you my thanks for your communication, and assuring you that I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

C. J. Fox.

St Anne's Hill, Thursday, 25th March.

This is a very convenient system for a statesman to adopt, merely acknowledging the receipt of papers, promising to read them, and avoiding giving any opinion of their contents.

I have heard it affirmed, that when Mr Fox was Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, and carried on a *correspondence with Talleyrand for the restoration of peace*, that he wrote not only all the most important letters regarding the negociation, but duplicates of them, *with his own hand*, determined that no one in this country but himself should know what was going forward. This was carrying diplomatic secrecy to a very extraordinary extreme. By so much personal labour, to which he had not been accustomed, and the vexa-

tion raising from the violent attacks of his political opponents, his dissolution was greatly hastened; and he found that the possession of political power, was not the means of securing, either peace of mind, or health of body.

The late John Courtenay, Esq. M. P. drew up a contrast, in respect of their oratorical powers, between the two great political rivals, Pitt and Fox. His partiality for the latter is well known. The candid reader, therefore, will make allowances for the prejudices of a party man, who was anxious to place, in the most favourable point of view, the talents of his friend, and was consequently not inclined to be too liberal of praise to his opponent.

*On the Oratory of Mr Pitt.*

Mr Pitt excited great admiration by his first speech. He seemed to rise a finished and accomplished orator at once. An elegant selection and collocation of words, seemingly unpremeditated, periods flowing and harmonious, pleased the ear, and captivated the attention of the House. He possessed a redundant copiousness, and never paused or hesitated a moment. The perspicuity of his diction seemed to express his ideas clearly and intelligibly; but often, on an instant's reflection, no precise meaning could be collected from immeasurable sentences, superfluous epithets, pompous repetitions, and imposing phraseology, enveloped in all the obscurity of parenthetical ambiguities. This was his peculiar rhetorical deceptions art; for when it was expedient, and suited his purpose, he stated the most complicated points of business, commerce, and finance, with clearness and accuracy, and explained his sentiments with a graceful ease, and happy facility.

In debate he could meet his opponent's arguments with subtlety and refinement, and misrepresent the obvious tendency of his statements, with such consummate skill, affected candour, and artful dexterity, by blending truth with falsehood, as to persuade a prejudiced audience, (who were willing to be deceived), to support every ministerial measure; and he furnished them with specious and plausible reasons for doing so.

Mr Pitt's talents were versatile, refined, and polished; he never reached that energetic, commanding, and impressive eloquence, which convinces the understanding, and wins the heart. The same glittering verbosity, the same monotonous cadence, the same tumid pomp of

language, the same unvaried arrangement of phrase, were equally and ostentatiously exhibited on the most trivial, as well as the important topics.

His harangues never displayed a great or comprehensive knowledge of the state of Europe, as connected with the true interest of his country; and never gave the slightest sketch of a wise, enlarged, political system, calculated to repress inordinate ambition, preserve the balance of power, and maintain the independence of states. Hence his flattering imposing prognostics on the event of the French Revolution have been fulfilled, by the subjugation of Europe, and the elevation of France.

No Minister ever saw with a quicker eye the advantages that might be derived from catching at the momentary prejudices of the people, or inflamed them with more skill and mischievous dexterity:

“ Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet ! ”

Superficial, though plausible, he dressed up the spectre of Jacobinism in such frightful colours, that he completely effected his purpose, by deceiving and terrifying the British nation. Credulity, and confidence in the Minister of the Crown, became the test of loyalty. The idle and seditious talk of a few contemptible infatuated demagogues was magnified into a Catilinarian conspiracy; and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, the glorious and inestimable protection of personal liberty, was received with exultation by a majority of the nation.

Mr Pitt singularly excelled in adorning and embellishing commonplace ideas, by the alluring graces of a pleasing and splendid elocution; but the ether of his oratory evaporated in an instant, and the greatest of his admirers cannot extract many sentences from the bulky volumes which he spoke, distinguished by originality of thought, or elevation of sentiment; nor can they easily point out one solitary period, illumined by fancy, or marked by a trait of true and genuine wit.

His jests were low and puerile: he excelled, however, in low and personal sarcasm, neither enlivened by pleasantry, nor brightened by imagination.

#### *On the Oratory of Mr Fox.*

Mr Fox began to take the lead in the House of Commons soon after the commencement of the American war. His elocution was striking and peculiar; rapid, copious, and impressive. The logic of rhetoric was never displayed with such energy, simplicity, and precision. Conscious of his own superior powers, he scorned the little arts of debate, and stated the arguments on both sides of the question,

concisely and perspicuously ; and often strengthened his opponent's logic, as if he had proudly lent it force and efficacy, before he condescended to answer it.

The vigour of his mind was progressively displayed, and he always rose in proportion to the abilities of his antagonist. He could only be silenced by the babbling of folly.

The most profound and just opinions on government, freedom, and the rights of the people ; the most liberal sentiments on religion, toleration, and ethics, fell from his lips, in the pure strain of truth, simplicity and candour,—for he spoke from his heart.

His speeches evinced the mind of a great and comprehensive statesman. He foresaw the event of a rash and calamitous war, with prescient sagacity ; his intellectual predictions are verified ; and the present state of Europe is at once a proof and eulogium of his unrivalled talents.

Mr Fox might justly be entitled the ORATOR OF REASON. His wit was singular, and sometimes lent a splendour and pleasing relief to his style ; it was happily blended with the acuteness of his understanding, and set off his argument, without deviating from the point in debate, or diverting the attention of the House.

His intellectual resources were inexhaustible ; his knowledge various and extensive ; his discussions on the law and constitution always just and discriminative, though not obvious. The Attorney-General of the day, and lawyers of the first rank and eminence, shrunk from his grasp, and unwillingly confessed his superiority, by the most unequivocal and unprofessional test,—shame and silence.

He frequently excited a laugh by detecting sophistry, and stripping a fallacious proposition of its *verbiage* ; and by exhibiting it naked and unadorned, rendered it at once intelligible and contemptible, to the meanest capacity.

Luminous common sense was his characteristic. Every man who heard him adopted his sentiments, which were so true and natural, that they appeared the suggestions of his own mind, and carried conviction to every understanding.

He never ambitiously searched for epithets and phrases to varnish and embellish his periods. He always spoke in the true and genuine idiom of the English language. The commonest words assumed an impressive dignity from his ideas, and bore the stamp of his genius.

Mr Fox was sometimes too prolix. He did not study the art of compressing, so little understood or practised by modern orators. A speech of three hours, even from men of transcendent parts, must be loaded with repetitions, and exhaust the patience of the House. Mr Burke's and Mr Pitt's harangues were also too diffuse and tedious.

Very inferior speakers caught the infection, and empty loquacity and yawning prolixity became the epidemic malady of the House of Commons.

The above contrast, though drawn up with much ability, evidently betrays a considerable degree of prejudice against the former, and much partiality in favour of the latter, of these distinguished statesmen.

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## VI.

### THE LORD VISCOUNT MELVILLE.

Of all the Ministers who shared in the government of his country during the last fifty years, there is none to whom the nation is more indebted for the important services he performed, than to Henry Dundas.

I never met with any individual who could go through more business in a shorter time, or on whose judgment more confidence might be placed in any critical emergency. He had also a stretch of thought, which enabled him to adopt measures, the completion of which could not be looked for, until a considerable period had elapsed \*. But his great pre-eminence over other statesmen was this, that he not only proposed useful measures himself, but he took a pleasure in supporting those brought forward *by others*, if he thought them entitled to attention. Of this I had the strongest reasons to be convinced. Indeed, all the various plans brought forward by me from time to time, with a view of promoting the happiness and improvement of the country, ever found, in Lord Melville, a warm friend, and a zealous supporter.

It was by his means that I was enabled to complete that great undertaking, "The Statistical Account of Scotland," to which nearly a thousand intelligent clergymen contributed.

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\* Of this a very striking instance shall afterwards be given.

It was by his means that Mr Pitt was induced to adopt the plan, suggested by me in 1793, for the issuing of Exchequer Bills, by which the manufacturing and commercial interests were saved from destruction.

It was by his influence also, (as appears from the following letter), that Mr Pitt was prevailed upon to support a plan for establishing a Board of Agriculture, which excited a spirit for improvement, and laid a basis of national prosperity, which no other nation had ever before experienced.

*Letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas to Sir John Sinclair.*

Wimbledon, 6th April 1793.

DEAR SIR,

I have considered your agricultural plan, and shall talk it over again with Mr Pitt, whom I expect to see here in the course of this day or evening. I am not in general very fond of projects at the public expense, and do not see a very good reason why the experiment might not be made by private subscription for the first five years. The sum is small, and, I should suppose, could be easily raised; and if the experiment answers, the public then might with propriety be applied to for the perpetuating it. At the same time, I am free to say, that I think, in some way, the experiment ought to be made, and I really think that it would produce salutary effects. I am, &c.

In another letter from Lord Melville, I find the following paragraph: "I thank you for both your letters, the last of which I received this morning at this place, (Wimbledon), where I have got myself very pleasantly situated. *I shall pay attention to all the particulars you have suggested \*.*"

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\* How different this reception from the cold and discouraging manner in which ministers in general receive the suggestions of those who send them plans of public improvement. They are too apt to consider such correspondents as extremely troublesome, and not entitled to much attention or civility, however valuable the information they transmit.

But perhaps the strongest instance that can be adduced of the great advantage to be derived from giving public encouragement to local improvements, is the following.

By the restoration of the forfeited estates in Scotland to the descendants of the original proprietors, the debts which had affected those estates, and which had been paid by the public, were placed at the disposal of Parliament. I drew up a memorial, strongly recommending the application of that fund to the improvement of the northern districts of Scotland, an object to which the rents of those forfeited estates had been previously restricted. When Lord Melville gave up the management of Scotch affairs, this memorial was left to his successor, (the Right Honourable William Dundas), with a recommendation, that the plan proposed in that memorial should be adopted. Mr Dundas, with great earnestness, took it up, and had the satisfaction of carrying it successfully through Parliament. A committee was appointed by the Commons, to consider the subject. Very able commissioners were appointed to manage the fund, and it produced such a spirit of improvement, as hardly ever was equalled in any country. Roads were made,—bridges erected,—and harbours constructed, where, without such public encouragement, no such undertakings would have been thought of. Its success was greatly owing to a rule I had fortunately devised, and prevailed on the Parliamentary Committee to adopt, that no sum should be applied to any improvement, but in cases where one half of the total sum applicable to it was advanced, either by the district, or by the proprietors whose estates were to be immediately benefited.

It affords me the highest satisfaction to have an opportunity of doing justice to the memory of a Minister, by whose means I was enabled to confer such important benefits on my country. Little do those placemen, who are unexpectedly raised to power, consider, what benefits they might confer on their country, and what credit they might obtain for themselves, if they would only support plans of public improve-

ment *suggested by others*, which they could not themselves undertake to execute. But with such men, a selfish spirit too often predominates, and they are unwilling that others should derive fame from the adoption of measures, which, however desirable, they want either time or talents to carry through by their own exertions.

The public services of this distinguished statesman I shall endeavour briefly to enumerate.

Lord Melville began his political labours by inquiries into the affairs of the East India Company, to whom he performed the most important services. In 1784, he prevented the extinction of the Company as an independent corporation. In the space of eighteen years, he raised the value of the stock from 118½ to 214, or 93½ of additional price *per* £.100 stock; and by his means some of the ablest and most distinguished characters in the kingdom were sent to India, under whose auspices the territorial possessions of the Company became an immense empire, producing a great revenue, and containing above sixty millions of inhabitants. He also brought the affairs of the Company into so high a degree of order, that he was enabled, for the first time, to lay before Parliament, “*An Indian Budget*.” He was afterwards appointed Secretary of State for the War Department; and by his means a martial spirit was spread over the whole country, and a military force accumulated, which secured the nation from any risk of being conquered, should an invasion be attempted. His talents were next directed, first as Treasurer of the Navy, and afterwards as first Lord of the Admiralty, to the improvement of our naval resources; and impartial observers have justly considered him as the best friend the navy ever had. If Lord Melville, however, had done nothing else but planned and executed the expedition to Egypt, his fame would have been established as one of the greatest benefactors to his country. Who can think of the battle of the Nile, or the victory of Alexandria, without gratitude to that great Minister,



by whom those achievements were planned, and without whose exertions and genius they could never have been successfully executed? These magnificent events first roused the different nations of Europe secretly to indulge the hope of emancipation from the yoke of France. They proved the immense resources of the British empire,—the talents of those who governed the country,—the valour of its sailors and soldiers,—and the superior skill and ability of those by whom they were commanded.

Lord Melville, when he first became a member of the House of Commons, never thought of entering into the field of politics; he was considered merely as an able Scots lawyer. It appears, indeed, from the subjoined letter, that the Ministers at the time had no idea of availing themselves of the great talents he possessed, as an orator and champion in the House.

*Letter from the Lord Advocate Dundas to Sir John Sinclair.*

Edinburgh, 20th November 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I have received yours of the 11th. It is only your partiality which overvalues the importance of my presence in Parliament, for no person whatever has made any request to me to attend.

Indeed, it would be most disagreeable and inconvenient for me to come before Christmas; but I am so little accustomed to put my own convenience in competition with the wishes, or the interest of my friends, that I volunteered in offering to come, if there was any anxiety about it; but there is none, for I have never received any answer to my letter.

As to the small stills, it is simply impossible that any movement can be made in it, at least before the holidays. Hitherto I have found all my attempts to get at the truth very unsuccessful. I send you inclosed some observations made upon your calculations, the author of which is very positive as to

the truth of the data upon which he proceeds. I am, with great regard, Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

HENRY DUNDAS.

John Sinclair, Esq.

But he whose presence in Parliament was not requested by the Minister, and for whose attendance no anxiety was felt by any one, soon afterwards burst forth a great political meteor, and became the chief prop of the party whose interests he had espoused.

I have often heard him, however, lament his having abandoned his original profession as a Scotch lawyer. "Had I remained, (he said), at the Scotch bar, I must soon have reached one of the highest judicial offices in Scotland, and might have spent a life of comfort and independence. In the important capacity of a Judge, I might have been of use to my native country; whereas, by entering on the career of politics, I have been exposed to much obloquy, and have latterly experienced the basest ingratitude."

My private intercourse with Lord Melville led to some events which it may be proper here to detail.

In December 1796 I happened to meet with the noble Lord at St James's, when he said to me, "It is a long time, (Sir John), since you have been at Wimbledon. Name any time when you can spend a day with us, and we shall be most happy to see you." By accident I fixed upon the last day of that year. Upon reaching Wimbledon to dinner, I found Mr Pitt there. Lady Melville, and the beautiful Miss Duncan, (afterwards Lady Dalrymple Hamilton), were the only ladies present. We spent the evening principally in conversation, but also played a short time at cards; and about eleven we went to bed. As soon as I got up next morning, I proceeded to Mr Dundas's library, where I found him reading a long paper on the importance of conquering the Cape of Good Hope, to add to the security of our Indian possessions. I said to him, on entering, "I come, Mr Dundas, to wish you a

good new year, and many happy returns of it." His answer I shall never forget; "I hope that this year will be happier than the last, for I scarcely recollect having spent one happy day in the whole of it." On this remark the following reflections naturally occurred: "Here I am living in the same house, with the two men the most looked up to, and the most envied of any in this country. I have just heard the declaration of the one, and I am convinced that the feelings of the other are not materially different. Can any thing more strongly prove the miseries attending political pursuits?"

After breakfast Mr Pitt asked me to return to London in his carriage, when he immediately commenced a political conversation. He said, that the finances of the country were getting into a state of great disorder, from the enormous expenses of the war; and he was apprehensive that it would be extremely difficult to raise the necessary supplies for carrying it on much longer. He then added, "As you have attended so much to those subjects, and have written the history of our finances, I should be glad to have your opinion as to the measures that ought to be pursued at such a crisis." I suggested the idea of a Loyalty Loan, and that every individual should be called upon, in proportion to his income, to lend a sum of money to Government, at a fair interest, according to the rate at the time. He entered at once into the idea. It was subsequently carried into effect, and ultimately produced those taxes on income and property, which enabled us to carry on the war, and to bring it to so happy a conclusion.

Many of the holders of the loyalty loan however, did not wish to sustain any loss from their public zeal, and, the loan having come to a discount, they prevailed upon the Minister, to propose to Parliament, that a long annuity of 7s. 6d. *per cent.* should be given to the subscribers. After a division in favour of that measure, I fortunately opposed it in the next stage of the bill, and being successful in that opposition, it proved the means of saving half a million sterling to the nation.

When it was resolved to deprive Lord Thurlow of the Seals, none of the Ministers seemed willing to be the person to demand them, (which it was desirable should be done personally), from the ungracious reception which it was supposed he would meet with. At last Lord Melville was prevailed upon to undertake the task. He adopted the following plan for that purpose. The evening before, he sent a note to the Chancellor, informing him, that he proposed having the honour of breakfasting with his Lordship next day, and that he had *some very particular business to settle with him*. On his coming next morning, Lord Thurlow said to him, "I know the business on which you have come. You shall have the bag and seals. *There they are,*" (pointing to a table on which he had placed them); "and there is your breakfast;" of which they partook very sociably together. Lord Melville said, that he never saw Lord Thurlow in better humour, and they parted apparently very good friends.

I shall now briefly detail a circumstance very little known, with which I became acquainted, by mere accident, but which I am happy to relate, as it places, in the strongest point of view, the distinguished talents which Lord Melville possessed as a war minister. It will also illustrate a point in his character, to which I have already alluded,—his facility in planning measures to be executed at a great distance, and in laying a foundation for events, capable of producing, at a considerable period after, the most important consequences.

Hugh Cleghorn, Esq. \* happened, during a residence at Neufchatel, to contract a friendship with the late Comte de Meuron, the Colonel Proprietor of the Swiss Regiment of that name; and fortunately discovered, that it would be possible to prevail upon him, to change the Dutch service for the British, by which means, we should be enabled to acquire

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\* He is still alive, and resides on his estate, near St Andrews in Fife. The particulars of this important transaction were communicated to me by him and by William Soper Dempster, Esq., who gave material aid to the plan on Mr Cleghorn's arrival in India.

Ceylon, and thus increase the security of our Indian empire. This plan being detailed in a memorial to Lord Melville, then War Minister, and President of the Board of Control, his discerning and decisive mind instantly seized the idea. The measures recommended by Mr Cleghorn were approved of, and he was immediately dispatched to Switzerland, with authority to act as the circumstances of the case might require. In less than a month from Mr Cleghorn's departure from London, a capitulation for the transfer of his regiment was settled between the Count de Meuron and him, and the former proceeded to India, which, after surmounting many difficulties, he at last reached. The instant he arrived in India, the Count dispatched his aid-de-camp express with the necessary documents to Ceylon. Colonel F. De Meuron, (brother of the Count), who commanded the regiment, was permitted by the Governor to leave Colombo. That corps joined our army on the coast; and the island itself, deprived of its principal force, surrendered without a blow. The same corps afterwards formed a part of the gallant army, to which Seringapatam, (Tippoo Saib's capital), surrendered. It was owing to these circumstances, that we were enabled to annex the important possession of Ceylon to our dominions in India, and to avert those dangers, to which our eastern empire would have been unavoidably exposed, had that important island remained in the possession of an European enemy \*.

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\* It afterwards appeared, that the celebrated Marquis de Bouillé had formed a plan, in conjunction with the Dutch government, for attacking our Indian empire *from Ceylon*. The plan of attack was found among M. Fagel's papers, upon the taking of Amsterdam, by the Duke of Brunswick. Spain was to furnish its quota, and all the native powers were to furnish theirs. Malantique, Governor of the Isle of France, managed the arrangements and correspondence with the native powers. Our Indian empire, therefore, was indirectly preserved from attack, if not from conquest, by the French Revolution, for nothing but the disturbances in France prevented the attempt.

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Lord Melville was a great friend to decision in business, and it was with him a favourite maxim, "That delay leads to procrastination,—procrastination to neglect,—and neglect to oblivion." He considered it extremely desirable, in a free constitution, that there should be parties steadily opposed to each other, that the measures of those in power might be vigilantly scrutinized, and when unable to stand investigation, successfully resisted. Hence he occasionally gave as a toast,—"A strong administration, and a firm and able opposition." The celebrated John Wilkes had the highest opinion of his oratorical powers. He thus discriminated to me the talents of the principal speakers in the House of Commons. "*Fox* has most logic, *Burke* most fancy, *Sheridan* most real wit, *Pitt* excels in command of words, and ingenuity of argument, but *Dundas*, with all the disadvantage of being a Scotsman, is our greatest orator. There is (he added) much sound sense, and no rubbish in his speeches." At first he had great difficulty to obtain a patient hearing, owing to his Scotch pronunciation and dialect. But these defects were soon forgotten, from the force and ability with which his sentiments were delivered. As it was late in life before he got into Parliament, he thought it better, not to take any particular pains in correcting those national defects; and the House became so much accustomed to them, that they proved no material detriment to his success as an orator.

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## VII.

## THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SPENCER PERCEVAL.

A short while before the death of Mr Pitt, one of his particular friends said to him, "What would become of the coun-

try, if we lose you? Where could we find a successor?" Mr Pitt answered, in one word, "*Perceval*."

The merits of this young lawyer, for at that time he had not attended much to politics, were not known or appreciated. But when he became a statesman, I do not recollect any individual, who made so rapid an improvement in the new line he had entered into; and he proved, (even by the admission of those who were opposed to him), that his parliamentary talents were well adapted to his ministerial rank and situation. He spoke without the disagreeable cant of the bar; was never tedious; was peculiarly distinct in matters of business, and explained his financial measures with clearness and ability. His style, when in opposition to Lord Grenville's administration, was singularly acute, bold, sarcastic, and personal; but after he became a minister, he adopted a tone more suitable to his official character, and delivered his sentiments, without that passion and vehemence, by which his elocution had been formerly distinguished. He found, however, that a minister, however great his talents, was liable, without experience, to fall into great errors. His agreeing to the appointment of a committee, regarding the rate of exchange with foreign countries, which was the means of introducing the bullion question, was one of the most unfortunate mistakes that ever a minister committed, and more especially his permitting Mr Horner to name, with very few exceptions, the members of the committee. The consequence was, that when the committee was preparing its report, Mr Perceval was outvoted in regard to the principles which the committee were to recommend; and the bullion report was presented to the House with all its deformities.

In fact, we had just then completed the greatest political discovery of modern times, "*That nothing could so greatly contribute to the prosperity of a nation, as to be independent of other countries for its medium of circulation.*" Sir James Steuart, in his immortal work on Political Economy, had long be-

fore inculcated that doctrine \*. From necessity we had fortunately adopted it, and we had derived from it the most important advantages. The bullion committee, on the other hand, had accumulated in their report the ancient dogmas of the old school, and proposed to have our currency regulated by the narrow notions of Dutch and Hamburgh merchants, to which the committee unfortunately gave all the sanction of parliamentary authority. Had not the greatest exertions, therefore, been made, to arrest the mischief, the most ruinous consequences might have been anticipated. It is demonstrated to the plainest understanding, that money, whether copper, silver, gold, or paper, is merely an affair of convention; and as we despise those nations who have not advanced from the gross invention of copper, to the higher improvement of gold, so we ought to pay but little attention to the sentiments of those who, with all the experience we have had, both in prosperous and adverse circumstances, of the beneficial results arising from a circulation in paper, and the ruinous consequences of a standard exclusively of gold, cannot yet elevate their minds to comprehend, the astonishing advance that is made in political improvement, when paper, properly regulated, supersedes gold, and “*a home money*” is created, by which we are rendered independent of other nations for the materials of circulation,—materials which can only be obtained by immense sacrifices of real wealth.

It may be proper to add, that nothing can be more groundless than the assertions of those who contend, that we were bound to return to cash payments, within six months after the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace; for Parliament had declared, in its resolutions on the 14th and 15th of May 1811, No. 16, “That though it was highly important that the restrictions on the payment in cash of the Bank of England should be removed, yet that such removal should not take place, *until the political and commercial relations of the*

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\* See book iv. p. 2. ch. 7, vol. ii. p. 157, 4to edition.



*country should render it compatible with the public interest."* Even when the restriction was to be removed, the restoration of the old standard of value, and confining it exclusively to gold, was, in the highest degree, inexpedient and injudicious.

I happened to come to London about that time, and was much alarmed at the consequences that would result from such a production as the bullion report, sanctioned by such authority, and resolved to write an answer to it. But before its publication, I thought it right to communicate the tract to the Minister, that he might make any alteration in it that he might judge necessary. He returned the copy with the following communication :

*Letter from the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval to the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair.*

Ealing, Sept. 9. 1810.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have lost no time in running over your pamphlet, which I thank you for having permitted me to peruse. It has given me great satisfaction. I have not time to pay that attention to it which I could wish, but I have noticed in reading it, some circumstances, which I submit to your consideration. You will find them on the margin of the pamphlet. I am, my Dear Sir, yours most truly,

SP. PERCEVAL \*.

No tract could be better received by the public, than the one above alluded to. It helped materially to stem the torrent of delusion, which, if it had not been arrested in its progress, would have curtailed the resources of the country, and disabled us from carrying on the war with France. Europe would then have been completely conquered, and England subjected by France. A number of merchants in the city of London, who, from their extensive dealings, were enabled to

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\* The copy sent to Mr Perceval, with his manuscript remarks, is still preserved.

form a correct judgment upon the subject, did the Author the honour of transmitting to him their acknowledgments for the service he had performed to his country in the following flattering terms :

*Copy of an Application from several Merchants in London, for translating into French, Sir John Sinclair's Answer to the Report of the Bullion Committee.*

Mr John Attersole presents his compliments to Sir John Sinclair ; and at the request of Sir Charles Price, and several other merchants, begs leave to offer their best thanks for his " Observations on the Report of the Bullion Committee," which appears to them most admirably adapted to restore confidence, and allay the distrust by which the commercial world has so severely suffered during some few months. Being fully convinced that the prosperity and improvement of national and individual income, can only be secured by an abundance of circulating medium, and that a well-regulated paper currency is, for many reasons, to be preferred to that of the precious metals ; and feeling that these positions are very ably stated by Sir John Sinclair, Mr Attersole and his friends are very anxious that the pamphlet should have a most extensive circulation. They therefore request permission to translate it into French, for distribution on the Continent, and also to print an edition to be sent to our principal commercial cities, and to America, in the hope of counteracting the intentions of the foreign and domestic enemies of our commercial prosperity.

Mr John Attersole trusts the national importance of the subject may plead his excuse for the trouble of this communication ; and if the request should meet the approbation of Sir John Sinclair, Mr A. would be happy to be allowed a few minutes to explain some other particulars of the plan.

66. Portland Place, 1st October 1810.

When the subject came to be discussed in the House, the debate continued for three days ; and as I wished to hear all

that could be said in favour of the report, I postponed stating my sentiments upon it till near the conclusion of the third debate, and then delivered a speech, which was most favourably received by the House \*.

Mr Perceval was extremely partial to the Board of Agriculture, and considered it a most useful establishment. He raised the grant for one year from L.3000 to L.5000; and when the Secretary to the Treasury objected to so large an addition as L.2000, the Minister said to him sharply, "I wish most sincerely that all the money we vote were spent as usefully as this will be." Mr Perceval laid it down as a maxim, (and an excellent one it is), "That where any object of great public utility is in question, it is not worth a moment's consideration, whether the expense is L. 3000 *per annum*, or L.5000, or L.10,000, provided the benefit which the nation receives, will repay the outlay that may be incurred.

In 1797 the planters and merchants connected with some of our West India colonies, and their correspondents at home, were reduced to the greatest distress, and knowing the connexion I had with the former issue of Exchequer bills, applied to me for aid in procuring a similar loan. I interfered in their behalf with Mr Perceval, and induced him to approve of their request. He informed me, that it was with the utmost difficulty that he prevailed on Lord Liverpool to concur in granting the proposed relief, which, however, produced the best consequences, and the loans were all repaid.

During the passing of the regency bill, I had much confidential communication with Mr Perceval, and found him resolute in the determination he had formed, to insist upon re-

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\* The speech, which is a short one, though it enters fully into the subject, is printed in the Appendix, No. IV. In a communication from Mr Vansittart, now Lord Bexley, he strongly recommends its publication. "It is of so much importance, that the public should form a right judgment on the subject of the currency, that it is very material that those who had not an opportunity of attending the discussion in the House of Commons, should be enabled to judge of the arguments on which the House decided, by a correct report, and that the sentiments of those who took a leading part in the debates should be preserved."

strictions on the powers of the Regent. From this resolution no consideration would induce him to deviate. I thought him, indeed, unnecessarily obstinate, for he would not even agree to a measure I had suggested, that, after a considerable period of time, the Regent should be authorised to make a certain number of Peers. All parties anticipated that the breach between the future Regent and the Minister was irreparable, and the Opposition considered themselves sure of being intrusted with the government of the country. But when it was represented to the Regent, that there was still a chance of the King's recovery, and what a dreadful scene it would be, if the King recovered, to find his whole Government displaced, new men in office, and new measures adopted, a sense of filial duty, overcame every other consideration; and the Ministers, contrary to all their expectations, were not displaced.

Nothing could have been more fatal to the prosperity of this country than the death of so able a Minister. His views of financial subjects were correct and practicable, and he would not have given encouragement to those theoretical nostrums which have subsequently entailed so much misery on the nation. He was a Minister who might be truly described as possessing a sound head and an upright heart; and when he was unfortunately cut off by the hands of an assassin, he was within a few steps of reaching the highest pitch of political excellence.

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### VIII.

#### LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH, AFTERWARDS MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY.

In Lord Castlereagh the agriculturists had a cordial friend; and he likewise appears to have been fully satisfied, that a paper currency, was better adapted to the circumstances of Great Britain, than a metallic circulation. Our agreement in opinion

with respect to these two great branches of politics, gave rise to much friendly intercourse ; and, as long as he had any influence in the counsels of the nation, I hoped to see that system established, which, I contended, was essential to the internal prosperity of the country. These hopes were extinguished by his untimely death.

Lord Castlereagh, though a very able man, was not a successful war minister. The management of a war requires great energy, secrecy, and decision ; whereas it evidently appeared, by the production of the papers regarding the Scheldt expedition, that he carried it on by official correspondence with the different departments, a system both more tedious, and more liable to discovery. In place of such complicated machinery, when an expedition is resolved on by the Cabinet, it should be committed to the entire direction of the existing war minister, who should issue his orders to the different departments, to have in readiness the troops, the ships, and the other articles wanted, against a given time, for the due execution of which orders, the heads of those departments ought to be made severally and severely responsible. The *departmental system* can never be attended with the same success, as that adopted by the great Chatham, when he officiated as minister of war.

Lord Castlereagh's mission to the Continent, to conduct the negotiations on the part of Great Britain, immediately prior to the fall of Napoleon, was certainly of use ; but the precedent of a Minister for the Foreign Department going abroad *in person*, to carry on negotiations, was injudicious in the extreme, and I hope will never be again permitted. When an ambassador is sent to a Congress, he is only a delegate invested with power to receive proposals, but not finally to sanction them without the authority of his Court ; whereas, if the Minister for Foreign Affairs attends *in person*, his approbation of any proposals made to him, is considered to be final, and every artifice which human ingenuity can think of, is put in practice, to obtain his consent.

Among the various communications received from Lord Castlereagh, the following is the only one I shall publish, chiefly to shew the friendly terms on which we corresponded together. I had sent him a plan, on which, I conceived, the safety of the agricultural classes depended, and in carrying through which I depended on his aid; but instead of adopting the plan, he devolved the unpleasant task of its rejection on Lord Liverpool.

*Letter from Lord Castlereagh to the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*

St James's Square, 4th July 1813.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge your letter, and the note accompanying it, of the 29th of last month; and must beg to refer you to Lord Liverpool on the subject to which it relates; it being a matter more for his Lordship than myself to consider and decide upon. I have the honour to be, my Dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

CASTLEREAGH.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

Lord Castlereagh's oratory was more remarkable for diffusion than strength. He was never deficient in information, but he had not the faculty of arranging his materials well, nor of giving them in a clear and condensed state. He imitated Mr Pitt in his manner and style of rhetoric; but though a useful speaker, was greatly inferior to the model he had chosen.

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IX.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE CANNING.

With this able statesman and brilliant orator, I had frequent, though not, in many instances, important intercourse. I respected his character, and admired his talents; but, from peculiar circumstances, could not frequently prevail upon him

to support those measures in which I was desirous to obtain his assistance. Mr Canning, though he afterwards acquired a fortune by marriage, had none by inheritance; and as he could not therefore command a seat in Parliament, was much embarrassed by his political connexions and obligations. When he accepted the representation of Liverpool, he became indirectly pledged to the commercial, in preference to the landed interest; and to the modern doctrines of free trade, in preference to the more sound and judicious system of agricultural protection, which I endeavoured to maintain. His early dissolution is much to be lamented, as it would have been extremely desirable to see, how he would have followed out his plans, when invested with supreme power; more especially since such ideas were entertained abroad of his comprehensive genius, that any measures he proposed, of foreign policy, could hardly have failed.

The two subjoined letters will explain how fruitless my exertions were to procure his decided support in favour of the agricultural interest.

*Letter from the Right Honourable George Canning to the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair.*

Board of Controul, July 12. 1816.

DEAR SIR,

I am very sorry that I cannot have the pleasure of seeing you to-morrow at one, having promised to attend poor Sheridan's funeral at that hour.

I ought, however, in fairness to add, that I very much wish that you would address yourself, on the momentous matter which you have in contemplation, to the Ministers to whose departments it more immediately belongs, as I really am at present too much occupied by the business of my own, to give to any subject, not connected with it, the attention which such a proposition as yours would necessarily require. I have the honour to be, Dear Sir, your most obedient and faithful servant,

GEO. CANNING.

*Letter from Sir John Sinclair, from Boroughbridge in Yorkshire, on his road to London, to the Right Honourable George Canning.*

DEAR SIR,

Nothing can be more important, at this critical moment, than to conciliate "*The Landed Interest*;" and I think it may be effected by some measures which I have to propose, and which I wish much to submit to your consideration.

I expect to reach town on Saturday, and should be glad to have the pleasure of seeing you at any time on Sunday, or on Monday morning, that may be most convenient, on this most important subject. Any note to me, please address to the Parliament Street Coffee-House. I have the honour to be, Dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

(Signed) JOHN SINCLAIR.

Boroughbridge, 5. March 1823.

*Mr Canning's Answer.*

Foreign Office, March 8. 1823.

DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your communication from Boroughbridge. You may be assured, that I did not make my declaration in Parliament till after the fullest consideration. I therefore incline to think, that no practical benefit could result from the conversation which you are desirous of having with me; unless, indeed, you have a specific plan to submit to the Government, in which case allow me further to suggest the expediency of your laying it at once before the Board of Trade. I am obliged to use another hand, in consequence of my own being totally disabled by the gout; and the attack confining me to my room, I should, at any rate, have been prevented, for the present, from fixing any particular day to have the pleasure of seeing you. I am, Dear Sir, faithfully yours,

GEO. CANNING.



An able judge has thus described the nature of that eloquence in which Canning so much excelled:—"Mr Canning's oratory was at first too much distinguished by gesticulation and vehemence, but his tone and manner latterly became almost unexceptionable. His language was at once copious and rapid. His favourite rhetorical art, and mode of defence, consisted in repeated charges and retorts on his antagonists, by daringly and plausibly contrasting their former arguments with their present assertions. This system he adopted with sharp and pointed ingenuity. His wit was keen, though sometimes flippant. He was prompt and fluent in debate; and possessed an innate buoyancy, which always prevented his sinking. He was bold, persevering, and subtle, and extricated himself from any difficulty which occurred with singular skill and address."

It is pleasing to think, that this distinguished statesman was deeply impressed with religious sentiments. This particularly appears, from the beautiful lines he wrote on the death of a favourite son. They were composed on the very day on which he sustained that severe affliction, and are engraved on marble in the new burying-ground at Kensington, where his son was entombed.

Sacred to the Memory of

GEORGE CHARLES CANNING,

Eldest Son of the Right Honourable GEORGE CANNING and JOAN SCOTT, his Wife, in his 19th year.

Tho' short thy span, God's unimpeached decrees,  
Which made that shortened span one long disease,  
Yet merciful in chastening,—gave thee scope  
For mild redeeming virtues, Faith and Hope,  
Meek Resignation, pious Charity;  
And since this world was not the world for thee,  
Far from thy path removed with partial care  
Strife, glory, gain, and pleasure's flowery snare;  
Bade Earth's temptations pass thee harmless by,  
And fix on Heaven thine unreverted eye.

Oh ! mark'd from birth, and nurtured for the skies ;  
In youth, with more than learning's wisdom wise !  
As sainted martyrs, patient to endure !  
Simple as unweaned infancy, and pure ;  
Pure from all stain, save that of human clay,  
Which Christ's atoning blood hath washed away ;  
By mortal sufferings now no more oppressed,  
Mount, sinless spirit, to thy destined rest ;  
Whilst I,—(reversed our nature's kindlier doom),  
Pour forth a Father's sorrows on thy tomb.

If at any time sickness, or very inclement weather, interrupted the regular attendance of the family at church, Mr Canning's constant habit was, to assemble his household in the drawing-room to hear divine service, reading himself, with great beauty and emphasis, the service appointed by the Church of England for the day.

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X.

LORD THURLOW.

Among the many distinguished characters who held public situations during the reign of George the Third, none certainly exceeded, and few have equalled, Lord Chancellor Thurlow, for dignity of manner,—soundness of judgment,—and strength of understanding. The celebrated Dr Johnson found him almost the only opponent who could withstand him in argument : and all who have seen him sitting on the Woolsack, or have heard him address the House of Lords, will acknowledge, that there never was an individual, better fitted to preside in that assembly. Indeed, he seemed born to shew the world what a Chancellor ought to be. His enemies said, that he wanted decision in the Cabinet, and was more ready to oppose the measures that were proposed, than to suggest new ones ; a defect into which lawyers, when they become statesmen, are rather apt to fall.

After the journey formerly alluded to, in the course of which I had studied the characters of the various Sovereigns and Ministers in the north of Europe, no member of the British Cabinet, was so anxious to know the results of my inquiries, as *Lord Thurlow*. He was particularly desirous to procure some information respecting the state of Russia. After perusing the manuscript account I had drawn up of that empire, he returned it with the following note :

“ The Chancellor presents his best respects to Sir John Sinclair, and returns him many thanks for the use of his observations on Russia, in which he has found much information and entertainment.

10th April 1788.”

In a previous note, he had stated his regret at not having been able instantly to lay his hands on the manuscript respecting Russia, which, he observed, “ though a very short and rapid account, was highly valuable, being well digested, and consisting of such particulars as afforded a most agreeable view of the subject.”

Lord Thurlow having likewise expressed a wish to see the first part of the History of the Revenue, a copy was sent for his perusal, which was returned with the following note :

“ The Chancellor presents his best respects to Sir John Sinclair, and returns him many thanks for his thoughts on a subject at once so interesting and complicated as the revenue of this country.

“ From the perusal of the first part, he is naturally led to form the most satisfactory expectations from the sequel.

June 8. 1789.”

Being much dissatisfied with the conduct of Ministers in carrying on the negociations at Lisle, I wrote my sentiments upon that subject to Lord Thurlow, and in return received

the following important communication, addressed to me at Edinburgh, where I then resided.

*Letter from Lord Thurlow to Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*

27th January 1798.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter turns upon points which cannot easily or conveniently be discussed in this way of conferring. That the war was needless, and unjust in the commencement, absurd and iniquitous in much of its conduct, the perpetual shifting of their ground by its advocates affords abundant proof. That a war, so manifestly against the apparent interests of both countries, might, at many different epochs, have been concluded, admits of no doubt; nay, perhaps even now the avenue to peace is by no means shut. The behaviour of the French negotiators at Lisle was so awkward and gross, I can put no interpretation upon it. But even that uncertainty would naturally lead to change the mode of treatment, and to feel individual pulses. The parade of a congress is ridiculous, without some previous understanding between the parties; and the means of creating that which others have tried successfully, should not be neglected on our part. The fee-simple of all the ostensible terms in question are not worth the bribe which would buy them off. When you return to town, if I can be of any use to your endeavours to bring forward any thing useful, I shall be happy to discuss it with you.

This interesting letter fully explains Lord Thurlow's real sentiments on the subject of the war with France. But Mr Pitt had, at that time, such an ascendancy over the King and the people, that it was quite impossible to remove him, and the Ministers seemed more anxious to defeat the attempts of his domestic opponents, than either to conciliate, or subdue the national enemy. Whether any means were ever taken to obtain an influence among the members of the Directory, I have never been able to ascertain; but such a plan,

if practicable, would certainly have been the easiest and cheapest mode of terminating the war.

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XI.

LORD LOUGHBOROUGH, AFTERWARDS EARL OF  
ROSSLYN.

From the subjoined communication, I had every reason to believe, that the Chancellor, then Lord Loughborough, was friendly to the establishment of the Board of Agriculture.

“ The Chancellor presents his compliments to Sir John Sinclair, and returns him many thanks for his polite attention in sending him the draught of the proposed commission for the Board of Agriculture. He thinks, with a very few alterations, it will do perfectly well, and will take the earliest opportunity of consulting with the Attorney-General on the subject.

Bedford Square, Monday Evening.

Notwithstanding this appearance of good will, it was with great difficulty that Mr Pitt could afterwards prevail upon that learned Lord to append “ *The Great Seal*” to the letters patent establishing the Board. On other occasions, also, the Chancellor was equally unfriendly to various measures which I considered of importance to the internal prosperity of the country, and seemed actuated with a degree of personal hostility, for which I could not account. It was at his suggestion that Lord Somerville was set up in opposition to my re-election as President of the Board, of which I was the founder ; and it was by his intervention, that “ The General Inclosure Bill,” after being carried through the House of Commons, was thrown out in the Lords.

In justice, however, to a political opponent now no more,

I think it right to state, that in the most trying circumstances, he maintained the integrity of his judicial character. It is well known how closely he was connected with the late Duke of Portland. The Marquis of Titchfield, the Duke's son, married Miss Scott, the eldest daughter and joint heiress of General Scott. Besides the immense property left by her father, she had likewise a claim, by the death of her relation, Sir Robert Gordon, to the valuable estate of Gordonstoun, in the county of Moray. The other claimant was Mr Cumming of Altyre ; and in the litigation before the Court of Session, a decision was given in his favour. It was appealed to the House of Lords, when Lord Loughborough sat upon the Woolsack. Knowing that, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, the eyes of the public would be upon him, he earnestly requested Lord Thurlow's assistance in deciding the question. It is singular that Lord Thurlow's opinion was favourable to Lord and Lady Titchfield, whereas Lord Loughborough thought that the question ought to be decided in favour of Mr Cumming. Had he chosen to acquiesce in the opinion given by Lord Thurlow, in favour of the Titchfield family, a large fortune would have devolved upon the son of his friend ; but greatly to his credit, he decided in favour of Mr Cumming. For this single act, so highly creditable to the purity of English jurisprudence, I forgive Lord Rosslyn all the injuries he did me.

It has often been asserted, that Dr Franklin had declared in company, after the celebrated attack made on him by Mr Wedderburn, "*That he did not value what such a fellow had said, but that he would make his master repent it ;*" and the late Alexander Small, Esq., a great friend of the Doctor's, was said to have been present at the conversation. I had the curiosity to inquire of Mr Small, whether the story was true, and received an answer upon the subject, dated Newent, (in Gloucestershire), 5th March 1793, from which the following is an extract :

“ As to the anecdote of Dr Franklin, the case is as follows : The day after Wedderburn’s abuse, we dined at Sir John Pringle’s, and the Doctor was asked, *how he felt himself after Wedderburn’s philippic?* He answered, ‘ He despised the speaker and what he had said, and that so mercenary a man would have said as much in favour of the devil, if he had been well paid for it, as he had said against him.’ The Doctor did not mention the word King or master, and I am persuaded he did not at that time entertain any resentment against the King, for, to my knowledge, he was then exerting his utmost powers to prevent the war. Even after he returned to America he continued to act in the same manner. For the truth of this I can appeal to Lord Howe, who then commanded the British fleet on the American coast, Dr Franklin having twice written to him, proposing the means of preventing it.”

It is certain, however, that Dr Franklin deeply felt the severity of that attack ; and his friend, Dr Ingenhouze, informed me at Vienna, that he often alluded to it in their correspondence together.

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## XII.

### THE LORD CHANCELLOR ERSKINE.

I had frequently an opportunity of meeting with Lord Erskine at Holkham, and other agricultural fetes, where, though he knew nothing of husbandry, his wit and eloquence insured him a cordial reception. At one of these meetings he pleasantly said, “ that he had formerly studied *Coke* at Westminster, and that he was now studying *Coke* at Holkham ; that *Coke the agriculturist* was as great in his line, as *Coke the lawyer* in judicial questions : and that wheat from the farm of the former, was as easily distinguished from other corn, as the doctrines of law, in the pages of the latter, from every other legal composition.”

He would also, on these occasions, descant upon the pursuit of agriculture, *as a most liberal profession*, in which the finger of Heaven every where appears,—where the very earth is eloquent, and bears testimony to the power and wisdom of the Creator. “If, (he continued), we only consider the subject of *manure*, we shall perceive one of the most striking benefits of that divine wisdom, with which we are blessed, in a thousand ways, without knowing it. This substance, the refuse of every being, had it been useless, must have accumulated in heaps, intolerably noisome, and perpetually pestilential; but, by the blessing of Providence, it is every man’s interest to remove those otherwise increasing accumulations, which, by decomposition, fertilize our fields, and reward the cleanliness and industry of our population.” This was a very happy illustration of the advantages derived from agriculture, by whose operations, mountains of noisome filth, become the sources of fertility.

We had much correspondence together, on various political questions, in particular regarding the currency, in which we did not agree in opinion. On that subject I find the following hints, in a letter I wrote to Lord Erskine on the 30th of October 1815.

“The real cause of our financial difficulties is, ‘neglected agriculture. It is now *proved*, that we can feed ourselves *by the produce of our own soil*,’ which might have been done quite as effectually twenty years ago as at present. If that had been the case, no increased pay of the army or navy would have been necessary;—no additional salaries would have been required in our civil establishments;—all our other expenses would have been diminished in proportion;—*and the consequence would have been, two hundred millions less of debt, and perhaps ten millions less of taxes.*

“The distresses we now experience can only be attributed, either to the weight of taxes, or the scarcity of money. Of the two, the scarcity of money is the easiest remedied, as it would only cost the paper on which the bank-notes are engraved, and the expense of putting them into circulation.



“As to the precious metals being the universal standard of value, that does not render it necessary that they should be coined for the use of particular countries. In the shape of bullion they answer the purposes of exchange, and in fact they are, properly speaking, “*nothing but a species of merchandise.*” We see by the experience of the present day, that paper, *properly regulated*, answers the same purpose as coin, *both at home and abroad*; for a guinea is now worth only a pound note and a shilling, even on the Continent.

“To the friends of a circulation in coin, I can only say, *When we have found a treasure that has enabled us to preserve ourselves, and to save Europe, why should we not avail ourselves, ‘to the utmost,’ of the advantages that may be derived from it, more especially in times of peculiar difficulty and alarm?*”

The following letter, one of the last which I received from Lord Erskine, contains some interesting observations regarding the distresses of the landed interest, and the currency:

*Letter from Lord Erskine to Sir John Sinclair.*

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I am favoured with your letter. I fear that the proprietors of the soil, by their long acquiescence, have ruined themselves. They are sacrificed to other interests, and, in England, have submitted to be taxed millions without any authority of Parliament, by perversions of the poor's rates, so that there is now an Agrarian law. I have done my best in lately pointing it out in a pamphlet, which has been advertised in our papers here; but unless Lord Liverpool consents, the House of Lords, which will soon be *the House of Paupers*, will do nothing. As to the currency, Lord Liverpool has declared, on the first day of the session, that if even a silver standard were preferable, he should never consent to it *now*; and if *he* will not consent, the thing is over. Such is the condition of our country. Yours very sincerely,

ERSKINE.

Feb. 11. 1823.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

Lord Erskine was the youngest of three brothers, all of whom were remarkable for their wit and powers of conversation. The learned Lord was particularly addicted to punning, of which I recollect the following instance: I happened accidentally to inform him, that a female relation of his was unwell. He asked me what was the nature of her complaint. My answer was, "*water in her chest.*" "If that is the case, (he replied,) she is not much to be pitied. It is very lucky, in these hard times, to have any thing *in one's chest.*"

Lord Erskine used frequently to compose short epigrams, which often contained much point and humour. As a specimen may be mentioned four lines he wrote on hearing that the spurs of Napoleon had been found in the imperial carriage after the battle of Waterloo. Lord Erskine said, they ought to be presented to the Prince Regent, with this inscription,

These Napoleon left behind,  
Flying swifter than the wind;  
Needless to him when buckled on,  
Wanting no spur but Wellington.

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### XIII.

#### THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

I have always considered the first Marquis of Lansdowne as the profoundest statesman that this country, in modern times, has produced. There was no department of government with which he was not thoroughly acquainted,—no means of promoting the interests of the country which he was not anxious to support,—nor was there any member of either House, so thoroughly conversant with foreign politics. To keep up his information regarding that important branch of knowledge, any foreigner who came to England, if distinguished for intelligence or talents, was sure to receive from him a cordial reception. His valuable and extensive library was always

open to the inspection of the learned, and he felt delighted in having about him such able and well-informed men as Mr Dunning, (afterwards Lord Ashburton), Sir Samuel Romilly, Colonel Barry, Dr Priestley, Dr Price, &c. He was convinced that statesmen ought not to waste their time in searching for information, if they can procure it from others who have more leisure to collect it ; and that the most successful ministers are those, who, however much distinguished by ability themselves, contrive to turn to the greatest advantage the talents of others.

There was no man who viewed, in so favourable a light, the Statistical Account of Scotland, and the establishment of a Board of Agriculture, as Lord Lansdowne ; and I am happy in the opportunity of publishing a letter, which fully explains the high ideas which he entertained of those two important undertakings.

*Letter from the first Marquis of Lansdowne to Sir John Sinclair.*

Bowood Park, 23d July 1798.

DEAR SIR,

The long continuance of this bad weather has prevented my gaining all the benefit I usually do by my way of life here, and has made me a very bad correspondent to all my friends, otherwise I certainly should not have been so to Sir John Sinclair ; but it has given me an opportunity of seeing Mr Debarry, who has been mostly with his father since he came into the country, and shewing him the papers you did me the honour to send me. We are both decided in preferring the more philosophical arrangement. You make too much account of my judgment, especially in these extraordinary times, when the best judgments go for nothing ; but it appears to me, that the longer this strange state of things continues, the more certain the change ; but, whichever side gets the better, necessity, independent of all motives of morality, wisdom, and general policy, will render a new order of things indispensable, which can never produce the good in-

tended, if it does not proceed upon those data, the collection of which seems to occupy the most enlightened part of the Continent, but which you are the only person who has made any attempt worth mentioning to introduce with us. I earnestly hope that, for your own credit, and the public good, you will not give up so honourable a pursuit. Sooner or later it cannot fail of being taken up by Government. I am only in pain for the poor Board of Agriculture, which I am afraid will share the fate of most public institutions, as soon as they are out of the care of the first institutor.

I am surprised that an Universal Register has never been brought forward, particularly in these scraping times, as it appears to me some revenue might be got from it, without much dissatisfaction, and a great deal of knowledge acquired.

Henry and Mr Debarry, I should do great injustice to, if I did not bear witness to the grateful sense they must ever retain of the kindness they experienced in Scotland. I have had a very handsome letter from Mr Cully about my bailiff.

Whenever you have any commands in this country, I hope you will honour me with them; and that you will believe me to be, with real esteem and consideration, Dear Sir, your faithful, humble servant,

LANSDOWNE.

P. S.—When I have the pleasure of hearing from you again, will you have the goodness to tell me, where I can find an account of the institution of schoolmasters in Scotland. I am curious to see what plan Government will adopt for the interior of Ireland when these troubles are over.

It is impossible not to be in the highest degree gratified with so friendly a letter from so able a politician. It required the weighty exhortations of so powerful a mind, not to abandon pursuits which had experienced such hostility on the part of the Minister, who personally attended a ballot, to deprive me of the situation I held as President of the Board of

Agriculture, and who used all his influence, to procure the nomination of a successor, to punish an individual who had presumed to differ with him in some political questions. The ruin of the Board, which Lord Lansdowne so feelingly anticipated, has since taken place ; and the vast stores of important information which it had been the means of accumulating, are now securely locked up in the Tower of London, as if the dissemination of useful knowledge would prove injurious to a country.

The late Mr Arthur Young, in a lecture on the advantages which had resulted from the institution of the Board of Agriculture \*, gives the following statement : “ The late Marquis of Lansdowne, (as I know by a conversation I had with him on the subject), was induced, in a debate in the House of Lords, warmly to approve of the establishment of a Board of Agriculture, as the only good exertion of Mr Pitt’s administration.” This was certainly going much too far ; but impartial posterity will, I believe, admit, that without the great resources which that Board was the means of producing, this country could not successfully have withstood the power of the French Republic, when it came to be conducted by the energies of Napoleon.

At one period, I had the honour of being on such friendly terms with Lord Lansdowne, that he said to me, “ I am going to Bowood for a fortnight, and have a corner in my post-chaise empty, which I wish much you would occupy. The mornings I must devote to business, but the evenings I shall with pleasure dedicate to conversation with you, and we shall not be troubled with companions, to prevent our having a free and confidential intercourse together.” I was much delighted with the proposal, and most readily accepted of it ; but to my great regret, before the day came, I was taken so ill, as to be obliged to decline so desirable an excursion. I do not recollect having ever met with any circumstance which I re-

gretted so much, as nothing could have been more gratifying, than to have spent so long a period, in confidential intercourse with a statesman, possessed of so much talent, information and experience.

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## XIV.

## THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

The intimate and friendly intercourse which I long maintained with this illustrious soldier and statesman, commenced at a very early period. We first met as members of a society constituted with the view of encouraging discoveries in Africa ; and we afterwards endeavoured, by forming political associations of independent members of Parliament, to procure the adoption of measures calculated to promote the best interests of the country. But I always found such plans of association among those who call themselves independent characters, of little real use. Each member of such an association is desirous, not to follow, *but to guide*. All of them are attached to their own opinions respectively ; and, astonished that any one should presume to differ from them, they gradually drop off, either bought by the Minister, or dissatisfied that the measures they espouse should not be adopted. Persons of this description are capable of acting only in an isolated state ; and if the House of Commons consisted solely, or even principally, of such men, the business of the nation could not go on at all. In a complicated government, like ours, parties are necessary ; and if they are not carried to a factious extreme, are highly beneficial ; but they should be well constituted, and under able leaders.

Lord Hastings was not only a warrior and a statesman, but took, as appears from the following letter, much interest in scientific investigations :

Montalto, Ballynahinch, October 6. 1796.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

One day at our Club, I mentioned a pair of the Irish deer horns that had been found in a turf bog, and were in my possession; and I remember to have said, that I thought they were fourteen feet from tip to tip. I have measured them, and I find that I have erred in the statement, by incorrectly applying a fact of which my remembrance was otherwise accurate. A line drawn straight from the root of the horn to its extreme point, is about seven feet; and I calculated, I perceive, as if that length were to be doubled for the computation of the distance between tip and tip. The horns are palmated, and the branches bend forward, consequently towards each other. The distance, therefore, between tip and tip is not quite twelve feet; but that will strike you as an extent sufficiently remarkable. The horns remain fixed in the head, which is entire.

You may perhaps think me indolent or indifferent for not attending the opening of Parliament. Not so. But as nothing will now prevent the evil hour which has long been preparing for the country, wherefore should one give one's self the trouble of making an observation? I do not the less feel for the degradation of the British Empire.

Believe that I have the honour to be very faithfully yours,  
MOIRA.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

Various circumstances having induced Lord Hastings to accept of the government of our Indian empire, he had an opportunity there of proving the great talents he possessed, both civil and military. During his residence in the East, I had the pleasure of receiving from him the following letter:

Calcutta, Oct. 9. 1820.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I am sincerely obliged by your kind attention to the re-

covering for me the balance due to me from Messrs George Baillie and Co. Accept my best thanks for that friendly care.

It was gratifying to learn from you, that you thought the fermentation among the lower classes in Scotland had been materially checked. To us at a distance, (and perhaps some distance is requisite to give one a comprehensive view), the dispositions evinced throughout Great Britain appeared of a serious complexion. How you are to get rid of your abusive taxation, I know not. At present the people are hourly goaded by the way in which imposts are collected, as well as bowed to the earth by the weight. All here is perfectly quiet, I mean throughout India, and the Company's finances are most flourishing.

I have the honour, my Dear Sir John, to be, with great esteem, your very obedient and humble servant,

HASTINGS.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

Some differences appear, even at a late period, to have subsisted between the Marquis and the Court of Directors; for I find, in a letter, dated Rome, 27th January 1824, the following remarks. His services, perhaps, were not so justly estimated, while he lived, as since his death.

“ As to the Directors, I make real allowance for their not comprehending what was effected in the advancement of their concerns in India. To them, as a body, no man could more invariably maintain that respect which our relative situations prescribed; but I was not so submissive to perverse constructions, as they possibly may have found others; and I think, my being stiff-necked, in such instances, outweighed the sense of any services I rendered to them. I am speaking of them as a body. There are individuals among them who have shewn themselves warmly favourable to me, and whom I have found cause to honour unfeignedly for their manly and generous sentiments; but they are overborne by the number



who have not had time or disposition to ponder accurately transactions, not readily intelligible without some consecutive application."

The concluding years of Lord Hastings's life form a memorable lesson to politicians, not to suffer any motives, however plausible, to induce them to neglect their private affairs. Under the influence of pecuniary embarrassments, though they may be much respected for their talents, or public services, they never can preserve that health of body, or peace of mind, which are essential both to private happiness and public utility. No man ever possessed greater advantages than the Marquis of Hastings; but his latter days were embittered by the vexations of straitened circumstances, and the ingratitude of those, who ought to have felt for him sentiments of a very different nature from those of neglect.

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## XV.

### EARL BATHURST.

One great object I had in view, by wishing to become a Privy Councillor, was to be appointed a member of the Board of Trade, as it frequently happened that points of great importance *to agriculture* were referred to that Board. When I became a Privy Councillor, Earl Bathurst presided at the Board of Trade, and I was thence induced to inform his Lordship of my desire. In answer to that application, I had the honour of receiving the following communication:

*Letter from Earl Bathurst, President of the Board of Trade.*

Curzon Street, July 4. 1800.

SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which you have done me the honour to write to me.

I can only repeat, that whenever Mr Perceval shall deem it advisable to take his Majesty's pleasure on your becoming a member of the Privy Council, I shall be very happy to have your assistance at the Board of Trade. In answer, however, to an observation of yours, I must in fairness say, that the attention of the Board of Trade is so much engrossed in commercial questions, that they never engage, (unless it is unavoidable), in agricultural discussions, which have wisely devolved upon a Board established for that purpose, over which you have with so much ability presided. I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

BATHURST.

From the difficulty in obtaining an appointment in the Board of Trade, and the subsequent abolition of the Board of Agriculture, I was led to consider, the absurdity of having but one institution of that description, notwithstanding there were so many other important objects which were equally entitled to that mark of public attention and encouragement. How many members are there in both Houses, who would with pleasure dedicate their attention to public objects, even gratuitously, if there were Boards to which they might be appointed? and numbers would thus get into habits of business, and of attention to important matters, who are at present employed in the most frivolous pursuits. I have drawn up a plan for that purpose, which will be found in the Appendix, (No. V.), and which, if adopted, would be of material service to the public.

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## XVI.

### THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM WINDHAM.

On the establishment of the Board of Agriculture, I proposed inserting in the list of members, the name of Mr Windham, of whose ability and patriotism I entertained a high

opinion. Having informed him of this intention, I received the following communication in reply. It affords a specimen of that singular indecision, for which, notwithstanding his superior talents, this extraordinary man was remarkable.

*Letter from the Right Honourable William Windham to Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I must not let myself be seduced by your compliments, either grave or gay, to accept a situation, for which I am wholly unfit, and for which I have not at present even the purpose of qualifying myself. I can really hardly reckon myself among the genuine supporters of the plan that has produced this institution. A wish of finding good in it, and a prepossession in favour of a plan which claimed you for its author, extinguished any disposition to oppose; but I cannot pretend to have enough considered the subject, to have any decided opinion in its favour. I am doubly bound, therefore, while my principles are so unsettled, to decline a situation, my appearance in which, from my complete incompetence, could only be accounted for by the supposition of extraordinary zeal. I must accordingly, for the present, withdraw with becoming modesty. My wishes for your success will not be less, because my ignorance of the subject may keep my opinions doubtful, as it renders me at the same time wholly incapable of being of any use.

Since I have known of your being in town, I have regretted the not having been able to call upon you. This evening I expect to get away; and the daily prospect of doing so, is that which has prevented my getting so far as Whitehall. I am, Dear Sir John, your very obedient and faithful servant,

W. WINDHAM.

Hill Street, Aug. 21. 1793.

Another letter he wrote upon the same subject is likewise interesting, more especially on account of the postscript, in

which he states, with great earnestness of feeling, his disappointment at the unfortunate events at Dunkirk, and accounts for them.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

It is but just, that as you have made me, against my will, a Member of the Board of Agriculture, you should allow me a share in the only part of the business for which I am qualified, viz. that of the patronage. The writer of the inclosed letter is known merely by accident, and not in any way to interest me in his success, otherwise than by a knowledge of his difficulties, and a belief in his good character. Of his qualifications I know no more than is set forth in his letter. Should there be any appointment under the Board, suited to a man such as he appears to be, I really believe it could not be bestowed on one more likely to deserve it by his diligence and fidelity; nor easily on one who possesses more of a remaining species of recommendation, than of standing very much in need of it. I am, Dear Sir, yours with great truth,

W. WINDHAM.

Hastings, September 16. 1793.

*P. S.*—What shall be said of those, by whose fault it has happened, that the naval force and artillery was not ready for co-operating with the Duke of York against Dunkirk? I hope that something will be both said and done; for such an instance of flagrant and criminal neglect, to say no worse of it, it will not be easy to parallel in the administration of any country. I have been told, that if the necessary assistance intended had arrived in time, there is reason to think, that the place would either have submitted without resistance, or have been carried by immediate assault.

When one considers the unfortunate consequences which resulted from the failure of the attack on Dunkirk, it is impossible not to lament, that the conduct of those to whose misma-

nagement it ought to be attributed, was not more strictly investigated.

In 1794, a number of members of the House of Commons, desirous that the war should be prosecuted with more vigour, were accustomed to meet at Mr Windham's house in Hill Street, to consider the best means of urging the Ministers to greater exertions. Among those who assembled for that purpose, I took a part. Mr Burke was the leader, and had proposed, without any communication to me, that we should transfer our meetings from Hill Street to the Duke of Portland's at Burlington House. Mr Windham undertook to inform me of the circumstance, but was prevented, as appears from the subjoined letter, from doing it verbally. He intrusted a letter on the subject to the care of Mr Eliott, who, not finding me at home, left it at my lodgings, without adding any particular injunctions that it should be forwarded. Thus the meeting at Burlington House, which ended in the junction of the Portland party with the Ministry, took place without my being able to attend it.

*Letter from the Right Honourable William Windham to Sir John Sinclair.*

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I set out this morning from Hill Street with the purpose of calling upon you, which I regret that I was prevented from executing. I wished to state to you, more fully than I could by letter, the detail of proceedings that have taken place since I saw you, and the nature of the meeting to-night at Burlington House. The object of the meeting is professed to be for supporting a vigorous prosecution of the war; nor differs, that I know of, from any that might have been held at my house, except in its drawing with it an accession of strength, which could not be on any other ground. If you should feel an objection to continue at Burlington House the same course of conduct, nearly in the same company, as marked our meetings last year in Hill Street, I shall be happy either to meet, or to

accompany you there ; and to supply in this manner the omission of a notice which the Duke, of course, could not take upon him to send. I am, Dear Sir John, your very obedient and faithful servant,

W. WINDHAM.

Hill Street, January 20, 5 o'clock.

Soon afterwards I received another letter from Mr Windham, regarding those energetic measures for carrying on the war, which I was anxious should be adopted.

*Letter from the Right Honourable William Windham to Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*

Bath, Feb. 12. 1798.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I am quite ashamed at having delayed so long to thank you for your obliging letters and communication. An official letter had gone before I received your last, on the official business, and was, I trust, satisfactory.

I am much obliged to you for the confidence which you are so good as to place in me, and of which I certainly should not render myself unworthy, by making any use of what you should confide to me, different from that which you should prescribe. I have no doubt of your zeal for the real welfare of the country, and think we shall soon be in a state in which there will be little room for difference of opinion as to the means, at least as to the necessity for taking the most vigorous measures for preventing this great and ancient nation from falling into the same state as the rest of Europe. I am, Dear Sir John, your very obedient and faithful servant,

W. WINDHAM.

Mr Windham's mode of reasoning was, perhaps, too subtle and refined for his audience. His style was fluent and copious, elegant and impressive, easy and natural. His wit was abundant and uncommon, his allusions familiar and just,

and, in general, original. He uniformly delivered his sentiments with truth and sincerity, and scorned any kind of disguise or deception. He spoke for some time without that effect which his abilities ought to have produced ; but by perseverance, habitual practice, and constant attention to the business of the House, he ultimately reached a high degree of eloquence, and was listened to with much attention.

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My acquaintance with Mr Windham led to a train of circumstances, which, taken together, form one of the most singular series of adventures that ever occurred in real life, and resemble more, a fictitious romance, than an authentic history.

At a late hour one evening, I received a few lines from my friend Dr Adam Smith, (the particular time I do not recollect,) requesting my company at dinner next day, to meet the celebrated Edmund Burke, and Mr Windham, who had arrived at Edinburgh, with an intention of making a short tour through the Highlands. The Doctor apologised for the shortness of the notice, stating, that the travellers had arrived only that morning, and proposed remaining but one day more in Edinburgh. I went accordingly, and passed some hours, as might be expected in the company of such men, in the most gratifying manner. I gave them my advice as to the plan they ought to adopt in making their intended tour ; and, in particular, dwelt on the beauty of the road between Dunkeld and Blair ; adding, that instead of being cooped up in a post-chaise, they had better get out, and walk through the delightful woods and beautiful scenes they would pass through, more especially some miles beyond Dunkeld.

I had almost forgotten these circumstances, when, about three years after, Mr Windham, very unexpectedly, came to me in the House of Commons, and requested to speak to me for a few moments behind the Speaker's chair. " Do you

recollect, (said he), our meeting together at Adam Smith's at dinner?" "Most certainly I do."

"Do you remember having given us directions for our Highland tour, and more especially to stroll through the woods between Dunkeld and Blair?" "I do."

He then added, "An event took place in consequence of our adopting that advice, of which I must now inform you. Burke and I were strolling through the woods, about ten miles from Dunkeld, when we saw a young female sitting under a tree reading. Burke immediately exclaimed, *Let us have a little conversation with this solitary damsel, and see what she is about.* We accosted her accordingly, and found that she was reading a recent novel from the London press. We asked her how she came to read novels? how she got such books at so great a distance from the metropolis; and more especially one so recently published? She answered, That she had been educated at a boarding-school at Perth, where novels might be had from the circulating library, and that she still procured them through the same channel. We carried on the conversation for some time, in the course of which she displayed a great deal of smartness and talent; and at last we were obliged, very reluctantly, to leave her, and proceed on our journey. We afterwards found, that she was the daughter of a proprietor of that neighbourhood, who was known under the name of 'The Baron Maclaren.' "I have never been able," continued Mr Windham, "to get this beautiful mountain nymph out of my head, and I wish you to ascertain, whether she is married or single." He begged me to clear up this point, *as soon as possible*, as much of his future happiness depended upon the result of the inquiry.

I lost no time in attending to this request, and applied for information to a most respectable clergyman in the neighbourhood where Miss Maclaren lived, (the Rev. Dr Stewart, minister of Moulin), who informed me, in course of post, that she was married to a medical gentleman of the name of Dick, who had gone to the East Indies. Upon communica-



ting this to Mr Windham, he seemed very much agitated. He was soon afterwards married to the daughter of a half-pay officer. I have no doubt, however, that had Miss Maclaren continued single, he would have paid her his addresses.

Some years afterwards, I happened to be spending some days at Duneira, in Perthshire, with the late Lord Melville, and, in the course of our conversation, mentioned the above anecdote of Mr Windham ; upon which the Noble Lord said, “ I am more interested in that matter than you imagine. You must know, that in company with some friends, I was riding down from Blair to Dunkeld, when we called at Baron Maclaren’s, where a most beautiful young woman desired to speak with me. We went accordingly to the bank of a river near her father’s house, when she said, “ Mr Dundas, I hear that you are a very great man, and, what is much better, a very good man. I will venture, therefore, to tell you *a secret*. There is a young man in this neighbourhood, who has a strong attachment to me, and to confess the truth, I have a great regard for him. His name is William Dick : he has been bred to the medical profession ; and he says, that if he could get to be a surgeon in the East Indies, he would soon make his fortune there, and would send for me to marry him. Now I apply to you, Mr Dundas, as a great and a good man, in hopes that you can do something for us ; and be assured, that we shall be ever grateful, if you will procure him an appointment.” Lord Melville was so much struck with the impressive manner of her address, that he took her by the hand, and said, “ My good girl, be assured, that if an opportunity offers, I shall not forget your application.”

Lord Melville then added, that some time afterwards, he received a summons to attend his duty in Parliament ; and in his way, happened to visit a friend who was an East India Director. After dinner, his friend said to him, “ By the bye, Mr Dundas, politicians, like you, have many applications in favour of young men, in various lines of life. I think it right, therefore, to tell you, that I have at present, at my disposal,

an appointment of surgeon in the service of the East India Company, and that it is much at your service."

Lord Melville was so much surprised at the singularity of the circumstance, that he struck his hand forcibly against the table where they sat, and exclaimed, with much vehemence, "The very thing I most anxiously wished for." He then related his adventure at Baron Maclaren's, greatly to the amusement of the India Director. Mr Dick was immediately appointed surgeon; and having gone to the East Indies, was soon placed in a situation which enabled him to send for Miss Maclaren, to whom he was married, and Mr Windham was thus disappointed of his northern alliance. In the course of the voyage, and after her arrival in the East, she had several offers; but she refused to hear of any one but Dr Dick.

Nor was this all. Dr Dick having made a handsome fortune in the East Indies, came home and purchased an estate, called Tullimet, in the neighbourhood where he was born. There he lived in a most hospitable manner, and Mrs Dick and he were highly and deservedly respected. He also had a house in London, where he resided during the winter season\*; and having acquired, from his experience in the East Indies, a great reputation for his skill in the management of *liver complaints*, he was frequently consulted by his Indian friends, respecting that disorder. It seems that Sir Walter Scott was afflicted with a complaint in his liver, which was likely to prove fatal to him. Hearing of Dr Dick's fame, Sir Walter was induced to apply to him for advice, and *by his means* the life of that celebrated author was preserved.

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\* His daughter is married to the eldest son of Lord Harris, the Conqueror of Tippoo Saib; and his son is a distinguished officer, who commanded the 42d Regiment at the Battle of Waterloo.



## **PART III.**

### **FEMALE CORRESPONDENCE.**



## FEMALE CORRESPONDENCE.

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THE fair sex have long been celebrated for their excellence in letter-writing. The correspondence of Sevigné, Maintenon, and others, are considered models in that species of composition. In fact, letters may be regarded as “*Conversations in Writing*,” and should be characterised by all that ease and sprightliness, by which colloquial intercourse, of the superior sort, is uniformly distinguished, and in which females are so pre-eminant. As the genius of the French language seems peculiarly suited for letter-writing, I shall begin with those which I have received in that language, from my fair correspondents.

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### I.

#### THE PRINCESS DASCHKOW.

The Princess Daschkow was one of the most extraordinary characters I ever met with. She was of the Worontzow family, and got the name of the *learned* Countess of Worontzow. Another sister, who was called the *handsome*, was rather lightly talked off; and a third, the *ugly*, found means however to ingratiate herself with the Emperor Peter III. and became his mistress. The Princess Daschkow one day reproached her ugly sister for her conduct in living with the Emperor, disgracing her family, &c. “The time *may soon come*,” said

the Countess with indignation, "when you will talk to me in a different style, and will think yourself honoured by a nod." This betrayed Peter's intentions to divorce his wife, and to crown his mistress, and occasioned a revolution, to which the jealousy of an elder sister not a little contributed.

The history of the Princess is very singular. She was married at fifteen, at which age she could speak the French language only, but taught herself the Russian. She became a widow at twenty-two; and her husband having left his affairs in great disorder, she retired to the country, and lived on L.60 a-year, to pay his debts. She devoted herself entirely to the education of her children, and for their sake resided a considerable time in Scotland, where she placed her son under the care of the great historian Robertson. She afterwards travelled, accompanied by her children, all over Europe. So strong was her appetite for power, that, when they returned to Russia, she wished to have her son appointed the Empress's personal favourite. But Potemkin, knowing her boundless ambition, very artfully contrived to defeat her project. The principal handle he made use of, was the fact of young Daschkow having repeated, in a ridiculous manner, in the course of a drunken frolic, some passages from Shakespeare. It is astonishing on what trivial circumstances great events may depend. Had the Princess succeeded in her views, the system of the Court of Petersburg would have been altered, and Russia, in the midst of the American war, would probably have declared in our favour. She was a kind of minister to the Empress in *literary matters*, being at the head of the Petersburg academy. She had sometimes a good deal to say with her sovereign, and knew every thing that passed at Court.

The Daschkow property was valued at L.12,000 *per annum*; but was very ill managed, and much of it was wasted in building, particularly in the erection of a magnificent palace at Moscow. The Princess was in perpetual difficulties, but was

too proud to accept of any pecuniary bounty from the Empress, though frequently proffered.

I was fortunate enough to procure from Dr Robertson, and other eminent literary characters in Scotland, letters of introduction to this distinguished personage, and received from her, during my stay in St Petersburg, the most friendly marks of attention.

Of the letters which I had the honour of receiving from her, the following is the only one which I can at present discover.

*Letter from La Princesse de Daschkow.*

ce 24. Novembre V. S. 1786.

Je vous dois mille remerciemens, Monsieur le Chevalier, pour les lettres charmantes que j'ai reçue de Kiow, Varsovie, et Vienne. Si j'ai tardé jusqu'à present à vous les accuser, c'est que je savois que ma lettre arriveroit trop de tems avant votre retour en Angleterre. Continuez, je vous prie, de me donner de vos nouvelles. J'ai deux motifs pour vous faire cette prière ; 1°, parce que je prendrai toujours un vif intérêt en tout ce qui vous concerne ; et 2°, parce que vous me donnerez par-là un témoignage de votre estime et amitié, qui me flatte infiniment. Je ne saurai vous promettre un equivalent dans notre correspondance ; car nous n'avons point le même public, et nos nouvelles se borneroient au promoisions, &c. D'ailleurs, je n'ai point la présomption de croire que mes lettres puissent egaler les vôtres, qui sont instructives et agréables. Enfin, la balance de ce commerce seroit en ma faveur ; mais j'ai trop bonne opinion de votre cœur, pour ne point croire que vous trouvez du plaisir à obliger.

Comme vous avez parut prendre intérêt dans les travaux de l'Academie Russe, je vous dirai, qu'après demain nous aurons grande assemblée anniversaire, à laquelle l'on lira les feuilles déjà imprimée du premier volume de notre Dictionnaire. Que ce qui en est fait en trois ans de tems est prodigieux, et nous mettra à même de livrer au public, en moins



d'un an, le premier volume, qui seroit mieux fait, mieux digéré, que ne l'ont été les premières éditions des Dictionnaires des autres langues, que nous avons comparé avec le notre. Qu'enfin, nous aurons mieux fait, en quatre années, (et cela avec moins de ressources), que l'Académie Française n'a fait en neuf ans.

Dans un de nos committés, l'on parla sur le mot *vertu*, et l'on eu recours, non seulement aux Dictionnaires étrangers, mais même à l'Encyclopédie : et comme je prétendais que le sens que le mot impliquoit étoit trop borné, je mis par écrit ce que je dis extemporé à cette séance. The partiality you have shewn me makes me think that you will read it with the indulgent eye of a friend ; I therefore inclose it here. Je joins aussi le programme de l'autre Académie, c'est-à-dire, de l'Académie des Sciences.

Mon fils est ici depuis trois semaines : il me charge de le rappeler à votre souvenir. Dans quelques jours je serai aux regrets de son départ ; car il doit être avant la Cour à Kiow. Voilà tout ce que j'ai le loisir de vous dire pour le présent, mon cher Chevalier. Donnez-moi de vos nouvelles, je vous en conjure, et croyez-moi, avec l'estime et la considération la plus parfaite, votre très humble servante,

PRINCESSE DE DASCHKOW \*.

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• Translation.

I owe you a thousand thanks, Sir, for the charming letters with which you favoured me from Kiow, Varsovie, and Vienna. I should not have so long delayed acknowledging their receipt, had I not been aware, that if I had addressed you sooner, my letter would have arrived in England before you. I beg of you to continue our correspondence. I have two reasons for making this request ; 1st, because I take a lively interest in all that concerns you ; and, 2d, because you will thus give me a proof of your esteem and friendship, by which I am much flattered. I know that I cannot promise you an equivalent in our correspondence ; for our public affairs are not like yours, and my news would be limited to an account of promotions, &c. Besides, I have not the vanity to suppose that my letters could in any degree afford the amusement and instruction to be found in yours. In short, the balance in this correspondence will be in my favour ; but I think too well of your goodness of heart not to believe that you take a pleasure in conferring an obligation.

As you appeared to feel interested in the labours of the Russian Academy, I

## II.

## MADAME DE STAEL.

In January 1786 I took an excursion to Paris, and in the employment of my time there, endeavoured to combine useful and agreeable occupations. With that view, I was accustomed to spend my mornings with the learned; to dine with the Count de Vergenes, M. Necker, and the other distinguished statesmen which France then possessed; and to dedicate the evening to the society of the gay. Being a Member of the British Parliament, and known from my History of the Revenue as an author, I every where met with a most friendly reception. Having received an invitation to a family dinner with Monsieur Necker, I went early, and had the pleasure of finding the ladies occupied in a manner peculiarly gratifying to the national feelings of a Scotchman; for Madame Necker was reading Blair's Sermons, and Mademoiselle Necker playing "*Lochaber no more*," on the piano.

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may mention to you, that on the day after to-morrow, we are to have our grand anniversary meeting, at which all that has yet been printed of the 1st volume of our Dictionary will be read. The progress that has been made in three years is prodigious, and we shall now be able to publish, in less than a year, the first volume, which will be better done, better digested, than the first editions of any Dictionaries in other languages with which we have compared it. Indeed, we shall have accomplished more in four years, (and that, too, with fewer resources,) than was done by the French Academy in nine.

At one of our committees, a discussion arose as to the word *vertu*; and recourse was had not only to foreign dictionaries, but even to the Encyclopædia. I thought that the signification given was too limited, and I have now written down what I said extempore on the subject. The partiality you have shewn me, makes me think that you will read it with the indulgent eye of a friend: I therefore inclose it here. I also send you the programme of our other Academy, I mean the Academy of Sciences.

My son has been here for three weeks. He requests me to recall him to your remembrance. In a few days I shall have to regret his departure, for he must be at Kiow before the Court. I have not leisure, my Dear Sir, to say more to you at present. Send me all your news, I entreat you, and believe me, with the greatest esteem and respect, your very humble servant,

PRINCESS OF DASCHKOW.

24th November 1786.

Monsieur Necker, overwhelmed by the pressure of public business, did not appear till immediately before dinner; and even before the cloth was removed, he received two or three letters, which he seemed to peruse with considerable interest. Madame Necker said, that they probably related to the great political contest, which he was then carrying on with Monsieur de Calonne, and which ultimately terminated in the removal of that minister from the helm.

When preparing for my return to London, I sent a note to Madame Necker, containing many grateful acknowledgments for the attention paid me by her family, and a promise, at the same time, to send her daughter, (afterwards so celebrated as M. de Stael), some Scotch music, the beauties of which, I hoped, would induce her to honour Scotland with a visit. Though young \*, the answer she sent is expressed with that vivacity and elegance which distinguished her future writings †.

*Mademoiselle Necker to Sir John Sinclair.*

Je suis bien reconnoissante de l'aimable attention de Monsieur Sinclair, et je suis chargée de l'en remercier au nom de Maman et au mien. Je chanterai ces airs avec un intérêt nouveau. La patrie de Monsieur Sinclair me sera moins étrangère. Nous serons charmé de le voir. Mon père et ma mère n'ont aucune commission qu'ils puissent le prier d'exécuter; mais ils lui renouvelleront, avec plaisir, l'assurance des sentimens distingués qu'il leur a inspiré ‡.

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\* She was born at Paris, on April the 22d 1766, and consequently was then in the twentieth year of her age.

† Madame de Stael's Works, when collected, amount to 18 vols 8vo.

‡ Translation.

I am much gratified by the polite attention of Mr Sinclair, and I am requested by my mother to add to my own the expression of her thanks. I shall sing these airs with a new interest. The country of Mr Sinclair shall no longer be considered as foreign by me. We shall be delighted to see it. My father and mother have no commission with which they would think of troubling him; but they renew with pleasure their assurances of the particular esteem and regard with which he has inspired them.

At that time Monsieur Necker was so much occupied with political intrigues, that he devolved, on the female part of his family, the task of entertaining any strangers. He had contrived to inflame the too volatile spirits of the Parisians; but being more of a financier than of a statesman, he was quite unfit "to ride in the whirlwind, and direct the storm." Hence he became unintentionally the source of all the mischiefs and horrors of the French Revolution.

M. Necker had adopted one excellent rule, "To search for able men wherever they could be found, and to avail himself of their labours." The truly useful minister is he "who does not rely exclusively on his own information and talents, but who makes the most advantageous use of the talents and information of others."

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## III.

## MADAME DE GENLIS.

Among the writings which have done the highest credit to female genius, there are none more deservedly admired than those of Madame de Genlis. During a short excursion to Paris, in January 1786, I had the honour of being made acquainted with that celebrated authoress, and received an invitation to dine with her at the "*Convent de Bellechasse*," where she then resided. It was interesting for a Protestant to visit in a convent, where, before admission, it was necessary to undergo examination by a porter through a grate. Having passed this barrier, I was shewn into an elegant apartment, where Madame de Genlis was sitting with some distinguished Poles of the Potoski family. They went away early, but I remained until the Duchess of Orleans was announced, to whom I had the honour of being introduced. Madame Genlis had at that time the charge of educating the children of the Duke of Orleans, which so much occupied her time that she rarely saw stran-

gers. The illness of a near relation, as appears from the subjoined note, prevented my having another interview with this distinguished personage ; but what I saw of her proved, that she was entitled to as much praise for her powers of conversation, as for the elegance and ability of her writings.

*Letter from Madame de Genlis to Sir John Sinclair.*

Madame la Maréchale d'Etrée, parente très près de Madame de Genlis, est en apopléxie ; et tant qu'elle sera dans un état dangereux, il est impossible que Madame de Genlis s'engage à diner dehors. Elle prie Monsieur de Sinclair de ne pas douter de ses regrets. Elle voudroit bien ne pas le priver de l'échantillon d'email qu'il a bien voulu lui envoyer, parce qu'il lui suffit de l'avoir vu pour l'imiter. Elle espère qu'elle aura encore l'honneur de voir Monsieur de Sinclair avant son départ \*.

7. Janvier 1786.

Being honoured at that time with the acquaintance and friendship of three of the most celebrated literary characters in France, I was accidentally led to celebrate their praises in some English verses, with which they expressed a degree of satisfaction highly gratifying to the author. I gave this short ode the name of "THE LITERARY TRIUMVIRATE."

*The Literary Triumvirate.*

Where real merit dwells, the British muse  
Her just applauses never can refuse ;  
Can ne'er refuse to praise a BUFFON's mind,  
Where Newton's depth to Bacon's force is joined ;

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\* Translation.

Madame the Marechale d'Etrée, a very near relative of Madame de Genlis, has been seized with apoplexy ; and while she continues in her present dangerous state, Madame de Genlis cannot think of accepting of any dinner engagement. She begs Mr Sinclair to accept the assurance of her regret. She would be sorry to deprive him of the piece of enamel pattern which he wished to send her, because it was enough to see it to enable her to imitate it. She hopes for the honour of seeing Mr Sinclair again before his departure.

7th January 1786.

Can ne'er refuse to praise a NECKER's page,  
Full of strong facts, and meditation sage ;  
Or when GENLIS sits down with sprightly ease,  
The young to teach, and even the old to please.  
Hail ! *Great Triumvirate* ! may you remain,  
The first, the depths of *Science* to explain,  
The next, in *Politics* to point the way,  
The last, the charms of *Morals* to display.

JOHN SINCLAIR.

Paris, 18th January 1786.

These verses were soon translated into French by Monsieur Goddard, Advocat au Parlement de Paris, and being inserted in several of the Paris newspapers, were of considerable use to me as an introduction to the literary societies of that metropolis.

*Traduction par M. Goddard, Advocat au Parlement de Paris.*

LE TRIUMVIRAT LITTERAIRE.

Quelque soit le climat où regnent les talens,  
L'Anglois va leur porter le tribut de ses chants.  
A BUFFON, pourroit-il refuser son hommage,  
Lorsque dans un seul homme, étonnant assemblage,  
Des deux plus grands esprits de la fiere Albion,  
Il voit revivre ensemble, et Newton et Bacon ?  
A NECKER, pourroit-il, par un lâche silence,  
Refuser le tribut de la reconnoissance,  
Et craindre de louer ses sublimes écrits ?  
Pourroit-il hesiter de celebrer GENLIS ;  
Genlis, dont les leçons instruisant la jeunesse,  
Eclairent l'âge même, et charment la vieillesse ?  
Ah ! Que le vœu public soit exaucé du ciel !  
*Triumvirat fameux*, que tu sois immortel !  
De feu de son genie, éclairant les sciences,  
*Buffon* en creuseroit les profondeurs immenses ;  
*Necker* dirigeroit au bonheur des humains,  
Des chefs d'un grand état, les pas trop incertains ;  
De la morale enfin, tout precepte severe,  
Sous la main de *Genlis*, parviendroit à nous plaire.

## IV.

## THE DUCHESS OF GORDON.

This celebrated character was equally distinguished for her beauty and her talents. She lived, for many years after her marriage, at Gordon Castle, and was the admiration and delight of all those who visited it. When her family grew up, she resolved to spend the winters in London, and at once took her station at the head of the fashionable world in that metropolis. Having married her daughters to some of the first noblemen in England, (the Dukes of Richmond, Bedford, and Manchester, and the Marquis Cornwallis), she grew tired of gaiety, and frequently resided in Scotland, more especially at Kinrara Cottage, on the banks of the Spey \*. She employed much of her time in embellishing that mountain residence, and improving the situation of the inhabitants in its neighbourhood. For this purpose she established a farming society in Badenoch, which excited a great spirit of improvement in that part of the kingdom.

It is a singular circumstance, to find the same individual who was at the head of fashion in London, declaring, that after all, “ books, peace, and solitude, were the blessings she valued.”

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- \* The following lines, addressed to the Duchess of Gordon, give but a very imperfect idea of the beauties of Kinrara, her Grace's favourite residence in the Highlands of Scotland.

What beauteous scenes attract the ravished eye.  
 Yonder, behold ! a lofty mountain rears  
 Its rocky summits to the azure sky ;  
 Beneath, each species which the forest boasts  
 Spread their wide branches o'er the encumbered slope,  
 Amidst whose foliage, hark ! how the feathered tribe  
 Chaunt their wild notes, and animate the scene ;  
 Whilst underneath, the bold and rapid Spey  
 Pours forth its tribute to the thirsty main.

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Here lived the lovely Jane, who best combined  
 A beauteous form to a superior mind.

*Letter from the Duchess of Gordon to Sir John Sinclair.*

Gordon Castle, January 4. 1804.

I can wait no longer, and feel that I have delayed too long in claiming your protection and advice for our infant farming society in Badenoch. I sent the papers, with the plan, to be printed at Inverness, and they have never been returned. The first copy was certainly due to you, by every person who feels, as I do, the real use you have been of to your country, and which ages unborn will value even more than we do. I need not tell you how ignorant, how lazy, and uninformed, the lower ranks are in Badenoch, particularly our weak sex. With superior minds, and capable of every thing that is great, when brought into the field, or any situation they are fitted to fill, *the brave sons of the hill shew themselves*; but those on whom fortune frowns, and who remain at home, are really wretched. No employment, and constantly taken in by their better informed neighbours. A *tryst*, (or public market), would prevent imposition; premiums would excite industry; and meetings, once or twice a-year, would create a kind of good will or friendship, that ought to subsist in all ranks of society. Our funds are as yet very small; but I hope, when the rich and powerful consider the benefit it may be of to the *best part of the creation*, and certainly the most sublime and beautiful, they will come forward, and enable us to have a woollen manufactory in that country, to give employment to the Highland spinsters.

The moment I can get a copy of the papers, I will send them to you.

It *was you* who first inspired me with that desire for improvement in the Highlands, which I now feel; and I trust to your knowledge and friendship for instruction.

Now I have lost my daughters, agriculture, and adorning nature, are my only delights. Yours ever, with much esteem, &c.

J. GORDON.



On the same subject, (the Farming Society of Badenoch,) I find the following communication :

*Letter from the Duchess of Gordon to Sir John Sinclair.*

Gordon Castle, January 13. 1804.

Inclosed is one of the papers regarding our infant society. You love to do good. Now is the time ; for nothing can be more idle or more uncomfortable than the lower ranks of the people in the Highlands. Do protect my bantling, for I wish to make the inhabitants of the most beautiful country in the world, happy, rich, and independent. Yours ever,

J. GORDON.

*Letter from the Duchess of Gordon.*

Kinrara, Perth, May 6. 1809.

DEAR SIR JOHN.

To do good is your motto, and at this moment you can do a great favour to Lord Macdonald. Mr M'Pherson, (Dalwholzie), is most anxious to be appointed factor to his Lordship. Had I the choice of a hundred, he should be the man. He is quiet, industrious, much respected, well informed ; and when any disputes arise among the lower ranks, he is always the peace-maker. He is regular in performing every moral and political duty. I have wrote Lord Macdonald, and he may be assured that he cannot find a better man.

The awful events of each day fill me with horror ; and the irritating neglect our great rulers shew to Scotland, will soon make us as bad as John Bull.

There is a report that the Highland dress is to be given up. Adieu then to the glory of the 42d and 92d regiments, and that noble spirit which distinguishes the sons of the mountain.

I came to meet the spring, and all her lovely children. Not a leaf on the fragrant birch ; the hills white with snow, and the glass little above 30. Shall I rejoice I am here ? Books, peace, and solitude, are the blessings I value. My compa-

nion, Jane \*, is gay as a lark, and we are planting and watching every flower.

I saw the best of wives, and the most lovely of daughters, the day before I left Edinburgh. Yours truly,

J. GORDON.

V.

LADY CRAVEN.

I had the honour of being introduced to this fashionable lady, during a short excursion to Paris in 1786. She was distinguished for beauty and accomplishments, and in particular excelled in music. Visiting her one morning, I observed a plain looking gentleman, dressed like a country squire, who spoke English remarkably well, though rather with a foreign accent. To my surprise, this turned out to be the Margrave of Anspach. We had an interesting conversation on various subjects, which, it appears from Lady Craven's letter, No. 2, he had not forgotten.

*Letters from Lady Craven to Sir John Sinclair, No. 1.*

Lady Craven has received the map and note Sir John Sinclair was so good to send to Lady Berkeley's for her, and returns him her thanks. She would be glad to know if Robertson the historian is dead or not. She had wrote to have a complete set of all his works for the Margrave's English library, but receiving no answer, is afraid he is dead. Lady Craven will be very glad to entertain a literary correspondence with Sir John, having just established a Literary Society here, and would be glad to have all the information she can, of what is going on in the world of letters.

\* Lady Jane Montagu, daughter of the Duke of Manchester, and the Duchess of Gordon's grand-daughter. She died young, universally lamented by all who knew her.

An answer, directed to Lady Craven, under cover to his Serene Highness the Margrave of Brandenburg Bareith and Anspach, at Anspach in Franconia, will come safe, but the postage must be paid at the office in London.

Triesdorf, near Anspach,  
29th June 1787.

No. 2.

SIR,

I am very much obliged to you for the curiosities you sent me ; the pebble is particularly beautiful. I shall return your present soon in a literary style, which may entertain you and your fair bride for some moments. If I am to believe the newspapers, you are married, and I must, in compliance to the old customs of England, wish you joy. I beg you will give a jog to the memory of Lord Fife, (from whom I have not heard for some time), and my compliments. Pray, Sir, believe me your most obedient servant, &c.

ELIZ. CRAVEN.

Anspach, 21st March 1788.

The Margrave does not forget you, Sir. He is in my room, and when I told him I was writing to you, he desired his compliments.

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## VI.

LADY GARDINER.

My zeal for the improvement of agriculture, procured me a number of female correspondents, who took an interest in the success of that important department. Having accidentally met with Lady Gardiner, she complained much of the injury which her crops had suffered from the attacks of the wire-worm. I promised to send her a remedy, which she po-

lately acknowledged in the subjoined note, and communicated, at the same time, a very interesting fact regarding the wood of the Acacia.

Lady Gardiner's compliments to Sir John Sinclair, and is much flattered, and extremely obliged by his polite attention in sending her such a very useful hint for destroying the wire-worm, and which, as soon as she has perused with attention, she will return to Sir John Sinclair. She is glad to see, in the same work, a treatise on the Acacia, of which wood she ventured to have gate-posts made two years ago, merely upon her own opinion, that from the appearance of the grain of the wood, it might be as durable as oak.

10. Upper Wimpole Street.

June 1. 1813,

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VII.

MISS MARIA EDGEWORTH.

From similarity of pursuits, I had become acquainted with the late Mr Edgeworth, who, though possessed of very considerable talents, will probably be more distinguished, as the father of Miss Maria Edgeworth, than for his personal merits, however respectable. There is no authoress who has done more credit to her sex and country, than Miss Edgeworth, and I was happy in an opportunity of attending to her request, contained in the following letter :

*Letter from Miss Maria Edgeworth to Sir John Sinclair.*

Ardbraccan House, October 19. 1818.

Though my acquaintance with Sir John Sinclair be very slight, I take the liberty of troubling him, presuming that he will have the goodness to execute a little commission for me. In this, or the last month's Agricultural Magazine, we have seen a letter to Sir John Sinclair, taken from the Trans-

actions of the Caledonian Horticultural Society, on the merits of the Carlisle codlin apple. Some friends of mine, curious in these things, desire to introduce it into this country, and I have undertaken to apply to Sir John Sinclair to procure me a slipping or two of this apple. If he is so obliging as to comply with this request, he will be so good to order that the slipping shall be cut to the length of a common sized October; then let it be wrapped round with moss, and put between two covers of an old octavo volume, or pasteboards of that size, and directed, under cover, to Miss Edgeworth,—under a *second cover*, to *Sir E. B. Baker, Bart. Castle, Dublin*. He will forward it to me. Sir John Sinclair's desire to promote every species of improvement is so well known, that I have reason to trust he will pardon me for giving him this trouble.

I have the honour to be his obedient humble servant,

MARIA EDGEWORTH.

My answer, as it expresses the respect I entertain for my ingenious correspondent, I beg leave to subjoin.

MADAM,

It will give me *particular pleasure* to obey the commands of a Lady, from whose literary labours, both my family and myself have derived so much entertainment and instruction.

I am glad to find that you have taken the Carlisle codlin under your "*Patronage*." Be assured that it will occasion you no "*Ennui*;" and that it will be found as valuable a production as could be introduced, either "*To-morrow*," or at any other period, into Ireland\*.

To do justice to this useful article, your trees should be planted about this season of the year. They are too bulky to be transmitted from this part of England, but I inclose a few lines to the Bishop of Carlisle, who, I am sure, will, with

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\* Alluding to the titles of some of Miss Edgeworth's Tales.

much pleasure, supply you and your friends with as many young trees as may be necessary to give the experiment a fair trial, how far they are suited to the soil and climate of your vicinity.

I should think that there would be no difficulty in sending the trees from Carlisle to Workington, and from thence to any part of Ireland.

For grafts, or cuttings, the month of March is the proper season, and you may rely on my sending you some for trial, under Sir E. B. Baker's cover, though there is a great risk of their becoming too dry for vegetation in their journey to Ireland.

I heard, with much regret, of the loss you lately sustained, having had the pleasure of Mr Edgeworth's acquaintance, and occasionally an epistolary correspondence with him. He possessed great abilities, which he devoted to useful purposes, and the blank he has occasioned will not easily be made up.

If you should ever come to this part of England, I hope that you will favour Lady Sinclair and this family with a visit. You will find in this house a number of admirers, and your works inhabiting every room in it.

With my respects to Mrs Edgeworth, I have the honour to be, with much esteem, Madam, your faithful and obedient servant.

Ormsly Lodge, Ham Common, Surrey,  
31st Oct. 1817.

*N. B.*—A gardener to the Duke of Buccleugh, in this neighbourhood, had, last year, a bushel and a half of apples from a young Carlisle codlin \*.

I was happy to find, by the subjoined letter from Miss Edgeworth, that her wishes to establish the Carlisle codlin in Ireland had been successful.

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\* It is now found, that the Manx codlin is still more prolific.

Edgeworth's Town, April 2. 1818.

SIR,

Your most obliging note reached me this day; and with it I safely received the nicely packed cuttings of the Carlisle codlin. I am very much obliged for your wonderfully punctual recollection of your promise; and I am the more grateful, as, notwithstanding all my endeavours, I have not yet been able to obtain the trees. All people are not as punctual as Sir John Sinclair.

The Bishop of Carlisle did all he could; but he was absent from the country, and in London, at the time I wrote. Mr Curwen has, however, promised to have the trees sent to Drogheda for me. I am so independent now, by your goodness in sending me these cuttings, that I can, at all events, do without the trees.

I wish there was any commission I could execute in this country for you.

I will write to my bookseller for the sermon of Dr Chalmers which you recommended. I am, Sir, your most obedient and obliged humble servant,

MARIA EDGEWORTH.

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VIII.

MRS ABINGTON.

I had occasionally an opportunity of meeting with this celebrated actress at Lord Fife's house in London, and could not fail to be highly gratified with the elegance of her manners, and the wit and spirit of her conversation. Not being accustomed to write down what passed at a convivial table, like my friend Boswell, I only recollect one of her "*bon mots*." "I never wished," (she said), "to be acquainted with a public character, who has not been abused in the newspapers. I

then passionately desire his acquaintance, for I am sure that there is something superior about him to excite the envy of the malevolent."

The following note will give the reader an idea of her style of writing.

64. Mount Street, May 11. 1800.

Mrs Abington is most extremely sensible of Sir John Sinclair's goodness, in allowing her the perusal of the invaluable work, with which it has pleased him to favour the public ; and returns it with ten thousand thanks. She is miserable in not being able, at this moment, to send the discourse she mentioned to Sir John Sinclair, when she had the honour of meeting him at Lord Fife's.

The gentleman she lent it to, has taken it with him to the country, where he is gone for a few days ; but at his return Mrs Abington will be particularly careful to send it to Whitehall.

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## IX.

### MISS JOANNA BAILLIE.

There is no dramatist of modern times, more distinguished for splendour of genius, or poetic powers, than Miss Joanna Baillie. In her style of composition she often resembles Shakespeare. It was much to be lamented, therefore, that her plays, though fitted to make a powerful impression in the closet, were less adapted for representation on the stage ; and that she had taken a particular prejudice against the London Theatres, in consequence of a play written by her, though possessed of great merit, not having succeeded.

From respect to her great talents, and desire to see them successfully employed, I took the liberty of suggesting to her, the composition of a tragedy, more adapted for stage effect ;



and as an inducement to undertake the task, proposed that she should dedicate the profits of the play to a specific charitable purpose. I had sketched out the plan of a tragedy, "*On the Fall of Darius*," which seemed to me an excellent subject; and had sent the plan to Dr Baillie, to be communicated to his sister. The following is the reply which I received from the Doctor, inclosing Miss Baillie's answer to my proposal. As it does her much credit, I think it right to preserve her letter in this publication.

Nov. 20. 1805.

DEAR SIR,

I inclose to you my sister's answer relative to your proposal. I hope it may prove serviceable to Mr ———'s family, if it be agreeable to them to be assisted in this way.

The public will be gratified when your work upon health and longevity comes out, as it will comprehend every thing which is known upon this important subject. I remain, Dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

M. BAILLIE.

Hampstead, October 19. 1805.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I have considered the proposal contained in Sir John Sinclair's letter, and the ingenious sketch for a tragedy that accompanies it, with the attention they deserve; and very much regret, it is not in my power, to make the good use of them which he does me the honour to suppose I might, and which I should have so much pleasure in attempting. You may well know I am so circumstanced, that I cannot possibly offer any play for representation to either Drury Lane or Covent Garden, nor suffer one of my writings to be offered to either of those theatres through any medium whatever. To give up all idea, however, of being useful to a worthy family, on whom bad fortune has borne so hard, is very painful to me; and, therefore, though I cannot undertake what Sir John has

pointed out, there is another way in which I might attempt to serve them; and if it should meet with his approbation, and be at the same time perfectly agreeable to Mr ——— and his family, I shall set myself to work in it most cheerfully; that is, to write a tragedy upon some interesting, but more private and domestic story than that of Darius, which appears to me only fitted for the splendour of a large theatre, and to put it into Sir John's hands, to be offered to the Edinburgh theatre, or any theatre in the united kingdom he may think proper, those of London excepted. If the piece should prove successful, though it might not bring in a large sum from representation, yet it might be published afterwards, in any way that should be thought most advantageous for Mr ——— and his family, (whose property I should completely consider it as having become), and produce something considerable.

I beg you will communicate this proposal to Sir John Sinclair, along with my acknowledgments for the obliging expressions on my account contained in his letter, and for the pleasure I have received in reading his outline of a tragedy, which, if properly filled up, would no doubt make a striking spectacle in a grand theatre such as Drury Lane.

When he has considered it, I hope he will have the goodness to let you know his opinion, without loss of time; and if it is favourable, no exertion in my power shall be wanting to complete the work.

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The play having been composed, was represented on the Edinburgh stage. I was not present, but received from a correspondent there, the following account of the reception it met with.

“ Miss Baillie's play went off with loud applause. The house was very full, and it is to be repeated every night this week. Henry Mackenzie furnished an excellent epilogue.

Some of the critics here, think the inferior characters have too much to do, as they were very badly sustained here ; but that objection would be obviated on a London theatre."

Upon sending this account of the reception her play had met with at Edinburgh, to Miss Baillie, I had the pleasure of receiving the following communication from her :

" Miss J. Baillie presents her compliments and thanks to Sir John Sinclair, for the honour of his obliging note, and the extract of a letter which accompanied it. Nothing can be more highly gratifying to her, than the very favourable reception her Highland play has met with from her countrymen at Edinburgh, and the kind interest her friends every where have taken in its success ; and it is an addition to her satisfaction to think, that it may still, in one way or other, be made of some small use to the family, for whose benefit it was originally written, if such assistance should still be wanted \*.

" Hampstead, February 7. 1810."

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X.

MRS HANNAH MORE.

There are few authors, in modern times, who have been of more service to religion than Mrs Hannah More, and it was upon that subject that I had occasion to correspond with her.

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\* In the Scotch Magazine for February 1810, there is a critical analysis of Miss Baillie's play, to which she had given the name of " The Family Legend." Its appearance, it is said, ought to be considered as forming an era in the literary history of Edinburgh ; for since Douglas, no tragedy had made its first appearance on the Edinburgh stage, or at least had attracted general attention. The beauties of the Family Legend indeed are such, as to establish its claim, to be ranked as a popular and pleasing addition to our stock of acting plays.

My eldest daughter \* had left behind her a letter on the Principles of the Christian Faith, a copy of which I sent to Mrs More, requesting her opinion of it. Her answer was so extremely favourable, that I have much pleasure in subjoining it. When it was known that the work had met with the sanction of Mrs Hannah More, its popularity rapidly increased, and it has already gone through sixteen editions.

*Letter from Mrs Hannah More to Sir John Sinclair.*

SIR,

I feel much gratified at receiving from your hand, the valuable little work you have done me the honour of sending me. I know not whether I should most congratulate you on having possessed such a daughter, or sympathise with you on having lost her. It is delightful to reflect, that while she is gone to join the society above, for which her whole life seems to have been a preparation, she has perpetuated her name by this valuable epistle; and not only her name, but her desire of doing good, for which she seems to have had a peculiar vocation.

She was, indeed, a most extraordinary young lady. Her views of the Christian religion are very deep. She has taken, in a short space, a comprehensive survey of its doctrines. These doctrines, in her estimation, are not merely a beautiful theory, consisting of speculative dogmas, but the sound substratum of all practical holiness. Every other way of considering this all-important subject, is, in my opinion, dangerous and delusive. Those who divide doctrine from practice, of which we have lately heard so many unhappy instances, separate what the Scriptures have joined in indissoluble union. This young lady's life seems to have furnished an admirable comment on her writing: She wrote as she lived; she practised as she believed.

I trust that this posthumous publication, will not only have the happiest effects on the beloved sisters, for whose use it

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\* Miss Hannah Sinclair. Her death took place on May the 22d, 1818.

was more particularly intended, but on as many as shall peruse it, particularly on those of her own sex, age, and rank in life. Of her it may, with peculiar emphasis, be said, that, being dead, she yet speaketh.

I enter exactly, Sir, into the sentiment with which you conclude your preliminary address; the very character and exemplary life which so happily fitted her for the blessed state on which she has entered, unspeakably sharpen the feelings, and aggravate the loss of her afflicted relatives.

Cordially wishing you, Sir, and your mourning family, all the consolations which religion can bestow, and there are no others worth the name, I remain, with much respect, Sir, your very obliged and faithful servant,

HANNAH MORE.

Barley Wood, near Bristol,  
June 13. 1818.

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# XI.

MRS FROWD,

The Friend of Mrs Hannah More.

Among the various literary works which I am anxious to bequeath to posterity, there is none respecting which I feel a greater anxiety, than a Digest, or Code of Religion; and having transmitted to Mrs More an introduction and plan of the work, I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from Mrs Frowd, a friend of Mrs More, dated Barley Wood, June 20. 1820, of which the following is an extract:

“ I lament exceedingly to inform you, that in consequence of a long suffering, and almost hopeless illness, Mrs Hannah More has been for very many weeks indebted to my feeble pen, (a friend staying with her), to answer her letters. Since the time she was favoured with a former letter from you, Sir,

(I think before Christmas), she has been a close prisoner in her chamber, and for upwards of three months past, has been confined to her bed or sofa, alarmingly ill ; and I am sorry to say, she still continues in a very weak, suffering, and unrecovered state.

“ Mrs More commissions me with her best acknowledgments for your last letter. She desires me to say, that she greatly approves of the plan of your work, and fully appreciates the labour and research which must have been used, to bring, into the compass designed, so large and interesting a mass of religious and moral information and improvement. The method and arrangement of it also, she thinks highly useful ; the deductions arising from considerations of the human mind and body, being novel, will be likely to be very striking, as they are certainly intelligible to all moderately informed persons.

“ She desires me to say, it is her sincere opinion, that the work will be, as a whole, extremely interesting and beneficial ; but with respect to the assistance you are so obliging as to hope from her, it would be impossible she could render any, under the present sad circumstances of her declining health, she not being even competent to common correspondence, or reading, excepting in a very limited degree, on account of a complaint she has been a long time troubled with in her eyes ; independent of which, Mrs Hannah More says, she could not presume any aid of hers would be acceptable, towards the accomplishment of so learned and scientific a work.”



## **PART IV.**

### **NAVAL CORRESPONDENCE.**





## NAVAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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*Introductory Hints, containing my Correspondence with the late Lord Mulgrave, regarding the naval strength of Great Britain, compared to that of France and Spain.*

I HAVE always been impressed with the most exalted ideas of the skill and gallantry of British seamen \*. Their character reflects the greatest credit on the country, and they constitute its real strength. When I became a member of the House of Commons therefore, I was shocked to hear a naval officer, highly distinguished in the service, and who was also a member of the Board of Admiralty, (Lord Mulgrave), stating opinions in Parliament, which seemed to depreciate the nautical strength and power of the British navy, when compared to the fleets which France was capable of producing. Having studied the subject maturely, and collected the most satisfactory evidence in support of the opinions I maintained, I resolved, instead of attacking the Noble Lord in the House, to write a tract upon the subject, as a more durable mode of giving my sentiments to the public †.

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\* Peter the Great said, "If I had not been Czar of Muscovy, I would have wished to have been an English Admiral."

† Among a number of other communications approving of the tract, the fol-

Having thought it right, to take an early opportunity of transmitting a copy of the tract to Lord Mulgrave, I was some time afterwards favoured with the following answer from his Lordship, in which he has stated the expressions actually made use of by him in Parliament, respecting the comparative strength of the fleets of England and France, and justifies the opinions he entertained upon that subject.

*Letter from Lord Mulgrave to Sir John Sinclair.*

“ Courageux, Spithead, June 22. 1782.

“ SIR,

“ A severe illness, which obliged me to go to Bath, has prevented me from acknowledging sooner the receipt of your note addressed to me at this place, accompanying your very ingenious pamphlet; and from returning my thanks to you, for your polite attention, in communicating to me your observations, on opinions supposed to have been delivered by me in the House of Commons.

“ It is not at all surprising, if my expressions are sometimes inaccurate, as I never speak with any other preparation than that of the best information on the subject which my industry can procure, always making use of the expressions which suggest themselves at the moment to convey my thoughts, without any premeditated arrangement of words. It is also impossible for any person, particularly one in office, who speaks frequently in Parliament, so to guard and qualify every argument he uses, that it may not be construed to mean something widely different from what the speaker intended, and to relate

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lowing from Morris Robinson, Esq. M. P., afterwards Lord Rokeby, was peculiarly gratifying.

DEAR SIR,

I consider myself as much honoured by your sending me your book. I have read it, and have no scruple to affirm it to be one of the most respectable works ever published by a native of this island. In it you have fully demonstrated the power Great Britain possesses, of maintaining a naval force, superior to any establishment the resources of France are enabled to furnish. That is so very material a consideration at all times, but peculiarly so in the present situation of affairs, that you are undoubtedly entitled to the thanks of your countrymen for your performance; and I beg, in particular, you will accept those of your faithful humble servant,

MORRIS ROBINSON.

January 9. Charlotte Street,  
Portland Place.

to subjects which he had not at the time in his consideration, by taking it independent of what it is connected with in the speech, and without its immediate relation to the subject in debate. I say this from my own experience, as I have sometimes found that I have been mistaken by persons of the fairest intentions. But it has also frequently happened to me, that my opponents have taken a more convenient than candid way of answering me, by first misrepresenting what I had said, and then answering their own misrepresentation. This has happened to me more than once with respect to the expression you allude to. But as I am sensible that when I speak in Parliament, I am much more indebted to the indulgence, than entitled to the attention of the House, I never troubled them with explanations, except in points of fact, which related strictly to the business before the House, and the department to which I belonged. I must add, that I have seldom found Almon's Publication of Debates, which you quote, accurate as to what I said. I mention all this to shew, that I see many probable causes of mistake, and I have no doubt you really did conceive you were answering arguments and correcting errors of mine, when you, with the most laudable intentions, so happily displayed, in your Thoughts on the Naval Strength of the British Empire, the great variety of information on many branches of that extensive subject, which you have collected with so much industry, digested with so much precision, and communicated with so much elegance.

“ It has however happened to me, from I know not which of the above-mentioned causes, to have been totally mistaken by you.

“ In the first place, the expressions imputed to me were not mine, and in the second place, the drift of my argument is totally mistaken. My expression, as nearly as I can recollect, in words, and I am sure precisely in substance, was, ‘ *That the Navy of the House of Bourbon must be superior to that of this country, whenever the French were free from a continental war, and should employ their resources and attention to that particular department.*’ You must remember that it was a frequent topic of the invective of the late opposition to the King's government, that the Admiralty had not a superiority in number of ships over the House of Bourbon. Any inferiority of a fleet, an equality, or even a small superiority, were mentioned as instances of criminal neglect. It was in answer to one of these assertions that my expressions, which have been so much mistaken, and so frequently misrepresented, were used. It was, I conceived, unnecessary to declare, that I was not giving a dissertation upon all the various branches which constitute naval strength, when the argument led me only to speak of the *number of ships*, and to contend that it was by comparing the efforts of this country at this period with former

ones, and not with those of the enemy, that the conduct of the Admiralty was to be judged of. The drift of my argument was therefore much mistaken, by applying that to every branch of naval strength, which related only to *ship building*. The opinion thus limited, I doubt whether you differ from. You certainly have not refuted. The idea, that the Navy of the House of Bourbon must be superior to that of this country, expressed in the most unqualified terms, had I maintained it, would not have been a new one, since the conduct of our ablest statesmen, from the time of the first partition treaty, to the advice of Lord Chatham to declare war with Spain, on the family compact being formed, appears to have been influenced by that opinion. To have shewn that any assertions really coming from me were ‘perfectly ill-founded,’ it would have been necessary for you to prove, that this country alone can furnish a larger number of ships of the line than the House of Bourbon, when France and Spain apply all their resources to that object, which I think you have not attempted to do. The assertion, that the times of King William and Queen Anne furnished instances of the navy of France alone having been superior to that of England, when they directed their whole attention to that object, you are so far from having refuted, that you have proved it.

“ A speculative opinion, however ingenious, is no contradiction of an historical fact, stating what was really the case.—When you tell us that the allies *might* have been superior to the French, instead of denying the inferiority of one, you admit that of both allies. In your note, page 38, you say the French fleet off Beachy-head amounted to 78 men of war, the English had 34 in the engagement, and 18 more blocked up, or not ready as was expected.

“ In your note, page 46, you state the French fleet at the battle of Malaga, to have been 69 sail ; the English 45. Here then, Sir, has your accurate industry furnished me with examples of an inferiority of 26 sail in King William’s reign, and of 24 in Queen Anne’s. You tell us, indeed, in page 43 and 44, that the assistance of the Dutch was of no service to us. As this is an opinion, not a fact, I shall not meddle with it further than to observe, that the able ministers of those times held a different one, when they sought that assistance.

“ The periods you so properly mark of the decline of the French navy in those reigns, are the strongest proofs of the justice of my observation, as to the effect of a continental war on the marine of France. The battle of the Boyne, which, by deciding the fate of Ireland, enabled King William to draw the attention of France to the Continent, was fought within a day of that off Beachy-head ; and in Queen

Anne's reign, the battle of Malaga was fought in the year in which the victory of Blenheim was gained. Lord Chatham expressed his opinion of the policy of a continental war, by one of those bold figures which characterized his eloquence, when he said, that America was conquered in Germany. If I had had the good fortune to have attracted your attention on other occasions, both in the last and present Parliament, I think you would have found that you and I did not differ much on the other points. I have frequently stated, (when the mode of manning the fleet was objected to, and that of France preferred to it by the opponents of Government), that from the different policy of the two countries, and many other circumstances which I shall not now enter into, the greatest exertions of France in that point were always at the beginning of a war; but that the number of seamen in the English Navy increased in the course of the war. Last year I believe the increase was twelve thousand. Nor have I been less solicitous to assert, what you are so very properly anxious to vindicate, the claim of our officers and seamen, to the character of superior professional skill and experience.

“ I particularly stated in a debate, not in a full house, and when you probably were not present, upon my former expressions being represented as an unqualified declaration of inferiority, that I had always understood that the naval superiority constantly attributed to this country, was not that of numbers of ships of war, but a superiority of spirit and skill in our officers and seamen. I added, fortunately, that superiority had never been more conspicuous than in some actions this war, which equalled any thing history could produce. My assertion was contradicted, but not refuted, by the present First Lord of the Admiralty \*, who contented himself with saying, he should not enter into the argument, but that he was of a different opinion.

“ Upon another occasion, when the word disgraceful was applied to the war, I contended, that a war in which several officers had so eminently distinguished themselves, should rather be called calamitous than disgraceful.

“ I hope I have now convinced you, that both my expressions and meaning have been mistaken. I know not whether I am to say unfortunately, since the mistake has produced so handsome an eulogium on the naval service of this country, and so comfortable a prospect of its strength and resources, from so able a hand; and has at the same time shewn to the public, that a member of the British Parliament, not connected by profession or office with the Navy, has made it so much his study. It is of little consequence, whether any opinions of mine

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\* The late Lord Keppel.

are mistaken or misrepresented ; but if the opinions which you combat have been generally entertained, and would be supposed to derive any degree of weight from being imputed to me, it was essential that they should be refuted with the degree of force and authority, which your abilities and name must give to the refutation. It will, I hope, be a sufficient apology for my troubling you with a long letter, that I was anxious not to suffer in your opinion so much as I must do, whilst you can suppose that under the circumstances of being “ a sea-officer, and a member of Parliament, and having sat at the Board of Admiralty, I should have been totally ignorant of the natural advantages Great Britain is possessed of for the acquisition of maritime power, and totally inattentive to the almost uniform train of success, which has attended the naval exertions of this country.”

“ I cannot take leave of your pamphlet without expressing my hopes, that the present officers will stand well enough in your opinion, not to make it necessary to revert to the dead, for humbling the pride of the House of Bourbon: That you will think Sir George Rodney’s correspondence as good “ a pattern for modern seamen” as Sir George Walton’s: That his late glorious victory has furnished one of the most brilliant instances of the superiority of the English Navy ; and that he has shewn in his own person, on several occasions, one of the brightest examples of the pre-eminent excellence of the English officers. You will, I hope, also agree with me in thinking Sir Samuel Hood’s conduct at St Christopher’s was not inferior to Sir John Harman’s, which you mention with so much praise. Allow me to express my doubts of the advantages you think might be obtained, by the institution of a naval order. I fear, in this country, such a distinction would be as frequently granted, to the importunity of interest, as to the claims of merit. Those who aspire to emulate the great characters that adorn our history, must have their ambition directed to nobler objects than the gifts of favour or the trappings of vanity. Believe me, Sir, the Officers of the Navy find sufficient incentives to distinguish themselves in the consciousness of their duty, the approbation of their profession, and the applause of their country. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MULGRAVE.

However flattering the above letter might be, from the encomiums bestowed upon the performance in question, yet, as I could not agree with the noble Lord, in some of the positions he maintained, I was induced to return an answer, of which a copy is subjoined.

“ MY LORD,

“ I thought it unnecessary to trouble your Lordship with any remarks on the letter I had the honour of receiving from you, until the Channel fleet, the *Courageux*, and its gallant commander, had returned into port. I now sit down once more to acknowledge the receipt of that able performance \*, and, however unequal to the task, must beg leave to controvert some of the principles and positions which it contains.

“ The tract transmitted to your Lordship was intended as an answer to certain opinions, which I apprehended were stated by Lord Mulgrave in his place in Parliament. And indeed I find it was only in this respect that I misunderstood your Lordship, namely, not conceiving it to be your opinion, that when France was involved in a landed continental war, that you thought the fleet of England in that case might be superior: Whereas the idea which any investigation of the subject has led me to entertain, is this, that the Navy of England must always be superior to that of France, when it is properly conducted, (whether that country is engaged or not in a continental war,) in consequence of our being clearly possessed of the greatest natural and political advantages for the acquisition of naval power. I must observe, at the same time, that the question in my apprehension was confined, to the respective pretensions of France and of Great Britain, and did not extend to the claims of any other of the branches of the House of Bourbon.

“ There are but three particulars in which France can claim a superiority over England—population—revenue—and extent of European territory.

“ In the tract transmitted to your Lordship, the question of population was considered, and an opinion was given, which I still consider to be well founded, that population is of little consequence for the acquisition of naval power, unless that population is upon the coast.—For instance, the maritime strength of England, at least with respect to an increase of sailors, is very little benefited by the inland counties of Worcestershire, Nottinghamshire, and the like; and, on the same principles, the inland provinces of France, which compose by far the greatest proportion of that monarchy, however populous they may be, are of little naval utility.

“ The revenue of France is surely superior to that of England, in point of amount. But, at the same time, when the enormous armies which France must keep up in consequence of its being situated on a

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\* The receipt of the letter had been previously acknowledged.



continent, and the great expense of a luxurious and despotic court, are considered, it may be safely affirmed, that the revenue of England either is, or ought to be, superior for efficient naval purposes. Hence Du Tot is of opinion, that ten millions of livres, about L.500,000 *per annum*, is all that France can afford to lay out upon that department; whereas L.1,500,000 *per annum* (at least since the year 1764) has been our peace establishment for the Navy.

“ The only remaining circumstance in which we are inferior, is extent of territory; for France contains 138,837, and Great Britain and Ireland only 105,000 square miles. The possession of greater extent of territory, however, is evidently of little consequence as to the present question, unless it can be made use of to increase the maritime strength of a state. Germany contains 181,631 square miles; but no one from thence can assert, that it ought to have a better or more numerous fleet than France. In point of extent of coast, and still more in respect of number of harbours, France must yield the palm to Great Britain; and in many other particulars, such as materials, provisions, commerce, naval skill, government, national character, &c. it can stand no competition.

“ So far with respect to theory. But your Lordship seems to be of opinion, that the fact is rather against the pretensions of England, at least with regard to the number of ships of war. I must take the liberty, however, as to this particular, of differing with Lord Mulgrave. From the states given at nearly the same period of time by Monsieur Du Tot and Mr Pepys (see *Naval Thoughts*, p. 32 and 33) of the respective fleets of France and England, no such inferiority in point of number can be traced; and if the records of both admiralties were to be searched, from any printed information I have been able to collect, it would fully appear, that in the ports of England there always were as many ships, if not more, than in those of France, whenever hostilities actually took place between the two nations, or even when a war was apprehended.

“ But the accidental superiority at Beachy-head, merely owing to the confusion of a new and unsettled government, seems greatly to weigh with your Lordship. I am not ashamed of confessing, that it has no weight with me. A single circumstance, or a single engagement, cannot be brought as a sufficient proof of the soundness of so important a system. If it were, your Lordship might prove that the fleet of England must always be superior to the united navies of France and Spain; because in the course of this war, Lord Rodney, with twenty-one ships of the line, encountered Langara, with only fourteen sail belonging to the enemy. Besides, no fact in history can be better ascertained than this, that Lord Torrington must have been

superior in number to the French at Beachy-head, had they been a little less active, and had we been a little more so. Nay, there is great reason to believe, and I find it the uniform tradition here, (for I am writing within sight of the spot where the battle was fought,) that the victory would have inclined to us had the Dutch been properly supported.

“ In regard to continental wars, on which your Lordship seems to lay so much stress, I must beg leave to remark, that it is questionable how far they have operated, on any occasion, even to the naval advantage of this country? If they prevented the French from attending to their navy, they have also uniformly proved a gulf, which absorbed the strength and resources of Great Britain; and, one thing I believe is certain, that when the French and English were both engaged as principals, in a continental war, the expense of the latter, in carrying it on, always has been, and always must be, greater than the expense of the former, (in consequence of its insular situation,) and therefore it must proportionably be more disabled than France from having, at the same time, a continental war, and a powerful marine. It is almost unnecessary to remark, that France can hardly be engaged in such a war, without Great Britain being the principal, or leading power in the scale against her.

“ I cannot conclude this part of the subject, without remarking, that there seems to have been too much reason for those loud complaints against our naval rulers, in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, which, in those days, were so much the subjects of public discussion; and without hazarding an opinion, that the events to which your Lordship alludes were more owing to the mismanagement of those who were at the helm, than to any real naval inability in the state. Parliament always did its part, by furnishing very ample and liberal supplies. In the year 1704, in particular, I see by the Journals of the House, no less a number than 40,000 seamen voted, and 5000 soldiers for the sea service. Thirty thousand sailors and soldiers, on the authority of Du Tot, was the greatest number that ever France had before the year 1730; and since, it is well known, that English ships were always manned by fewer sailors than the French, which appears to be a decisive proof, that in the reign of Queen Anne we must have had more ships than they had, even without the assistance of the Dutch; and yet, from the inattention, the negligence, or the want of information of the Board of Admiralty, or of the Cabinet, at the time, we were occasionally inferior. I cannot pass over this example in the reign of Queen Anne, of so large a body of our land forces being destined for naval purposes, without requesting your Lordship seriously to consider, how far we ought to imitate that example at this time. Suppose, for instance, that 5 or 10,000 soldiers were

sent to Portsmouth, to Plymouth, and to Chatham, were to be dressed in round hats, trowsers, and blue jackets, and were to be daily trained, for the space of six months, in naval manœuvres, is it not probable that the whole, or at least the greatest part of them, might be qualified, against that time, to act as ordinary seamen?

“ I am sorry to find that your Lordship is of opinion, that a naval order would not be attended with any advantage to the service. I am one of those who think, that the brave tars of England cannot have too many incitements to behave well, and whenever they act with peculiar courage and good conduct, that they ought to be conspicuously rewarded. A naval order seems almost to be essential to a maritime state; at least it is an institution from whence no harm could possibly arise, and from which, by judicious management, much good might be expected.

“ You very justly observe, that, in the *Naval Thoughts*, no attention has been paid to the gallant actions which have been performed this war. They did not come within the compass of the author's intention, nor did the accounts of Lord Rodney's victory reach England until after the pamphlet was published. It was indeed a very hasty performance, composed during the Easter recess, and printed rather with a view of gratifying the author's feelings at the moment, than from any hopes of credit or of praise. I propose, however, should I live to see this war brought to a conclusion, to extend the tract to a small volume, containing a fuller state of the natural and political advantages of this country for the acquisition of naval power, and a short detail of the recent, as well as ancient prowess of our gallant seamen,—a work on the subject of the Navy of England in general, without any allusion to the opinions which your Lordship either did, or was supposed to entertain.

“ It now only remains that I should acknowledge the unmerited encomiums bestowed by your Lordship upon the tract in question, and to express the regret with which I heard, that, from the state of your health, the public had run the risk of losing the services of so able and so gallant an officer; for whom no one can entertain a higher degree of respect, than he who has the honour to subscribe himself, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and very humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN SINCLAIR.

“ Eastbourne, Sussex, 15th August 1782.”

The above letter ended the correspondence; and it is not improbable that the controversy closed, as is usual on such occasions, with both parties retaining the opinion they had originally formed, at least without any material variation. It is

fortunate, however, when such differences terminate, as was the case in this instance, with perfect good humour on both sides, and without leaving the smallest tincture of personal animosity or dislike.

My defence of the British Navy being well known to the profession, I was thence enabled to form a friendly intercourse with a number of the gallant officers who distinguished themselves during the late war; of which a stronger proof cannot be given, than the following letters, with which they honoured me.

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I.

LORD KEPPEL, FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY.

*To John Sinclair, Esq. M. P.*

SIR,

I am favoured with your letter from Eastbourne, with a note in it, containing the information of the zealous spirit shewn in France upon their situation, for which I beg to return you my thanks.

Your recommendation of Captain Sinclair will, among many others deserving, have my attention. I wish I was able to say I had ships or means to reward the numerous officers of great merit that are daily applying. I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

KEPPEL.

Admiralty, Aug. 10. 1782.

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II.

LORD VISCOUNT HOWE, FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY.

*To Sir John Sinclair, Bart. M. P.*

Lord Howe presents his compliments to Sir John Sinclair, and returns his thanks for the view of the prints, (the plans

of Cherbourg), which are returned by the bearer. He will be able to receive Sir John's commands, if he will take the trouble of calling at the Admiralty to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock.

Admiralty, 25th January 1787.

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III.

EARL ST VINCENT, FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY.

*To Sir John Sinclair, Bart. M. P.*

MY DEAR SIR,

Whether there is virtue enough in the country to permit the operation of any measure for the preservation of it, is to be seen; but sure I am, that if the plunder and depredation committed in every branch of the naval department, and the profligate manner in which the public money has been wasted, is not put a stop to, there will soon be an end of every thing dear to us. Having done my duty in pointing out the only mode to effect a radical cure, and left the nomination of the Commissioners to the wisdom and judgment of the House of Commons, I have only to hope that you, and all others who have turned their minds to this important subject, will render every assistance to the commission in your power.

Believe me to be, with great regard and esteem, my Dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

ST VINCENT.

Rochetts, 23d December 1802.

I have been compelled by ill health to retire from town, which I the less regret, because, if the bill now before the House of Lords does not speak for itself, no argument of mine would avail.

ST VT.

## IV.

## LORD VISCOUNT NELSON.

Having sent a copy of my "Thoughts on the Naval Strength of the British Empire," to Lord Nelson, I had the pleasure of receiving the following communication in return :

Merton, Dec. 8. 1801.

DEAR SIR,

I had the honour of receiving, through the hands of Mr Mollison, your very elegant present of a book, to the subject of which too much attention cannot be paid ; and without a compliment, no man in the country is so able to place this important matter in its proper view before the public. I can hardly believe, however anxious I have endeavoured to deserve it, the high compliment you are pleased to bestow upon me. But, Dear Sir, I beg you to be assured, that I am, with every sentiment of obligation, your most obedient servant,

NELSON & BRONTE.

Having to preside at a dinner of the Society for encouraging the Fisheries, I applied to Lord Nelson for his attendance, knowing well how much it would promote the success of the meeting. To that application I had the honour of receiving the subjoined answer :

Merton, May 13. 1802.

SIR,

My state of health absolutely prevents my having the pleasure of dining with the Society for encouraging the Fisheries, though no purpose can be more truly patriotic, or deserving the attention of every friend to his country. I had proposed yesterday doing myself the honour of calling upon you, but I was to my sorrow prevented, as I wish much to be pre-

viously known to a gentleman of your great and useful knowledge, and who so laudably carries it into effect, for the benefit of his country. I have the honour to be, Sir, with the highest respect, your most obliged and obedient servant,

NELSON & BRONTE.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

The battle of Aboukir, and that of Trafalgar, are certainly the two most extraordinary events recorded “*in Naval History* ;” and of all the brave officers who adorned the reign of George the Third, Lord Nelson was the most distinguished for brightness of genius. It may be said, indeed, that he saw every thing as if by inspiration. Massena maintained that the great quality of a *General* was, to have a *coup d’œil* ; but Nelson proved, that in naval combats, to be possessed of a *coup d’esprit*, was the talent to be wished for.

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V.

LORD VISCOUNT DUNCAN.

Being informed that a number of Dutch fishermen would probably be found in the ships captured by Lord Duncan at Camperdown, I wrote his Lordship, to know if that was the case ; because, in that event, it might be possible to prevail upon a portion of them to engage in the fisheries upon our coasts. But from Lord Duncan’s answer, it appears that few Dutch fishermen were employed on board their ships of war.

MY DEAR SIR,

Although I am at present overwhelmed with letters, at the same time preparing for the reception of his Majesty here, will not put off a moment acknowledging the receipt of yours of the 24th, this moment come to me. Your congratulations are most acceptable, and I thank you for them. As to what

you say about Dutch seamen being employed on your coasts, if my information is good, there are very few Dutch seamen in the fleet: they are made up of all nations, Swedes, Danes, Germans and English. The Admiral De Winter tells me, the people employed in the fishings are never taken out. As soon as I get a little more time shall be more particular in my inquiry, and let you know. Shall at present end with assuring you, that I am, with much esteem and regard, very sincerely your obedient, and very humble servant,

DUNCAN.

Sheerness, Oct. 29. 1797.

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VI.

LORD VISCOUNT BRIDPORT.

My friend Lord Bridport was not only a superior naval officer, but an excellent agriculturist. Hence in zeal for maintaining our naval power, and improving the culture of our soil, we cordially united. It is pleasing to see the delight with which the gallant veteran anticipated turning his sword into a ploughshare, and enjoying plenty with the blessings of peace.

*Letter from Admiral Lord Viscount Bridport, to Sir John Sinclair, Bart. M. P.*

Cricket Lodge, April 18. 1802.

Lord Bridport returns his best compliments to Sir John Sinclair, with many thanks for his very obliging note received last night, and also for the honour of his call in Harley Street, which shall be personally acknowledged soon after he again visits London.

Lord Bridport likewise feels himself much gratified by Sir John's attention to him, in sending the two books, under cover, from Mr Freeling of the Post-office, which reached him



on Friday last. That on Longevity he has read with much satisfaction ; and his plan for improvement in agriculture will furnish great entertainment as well as advantage.

It is true the sword must be now turned into a plough-share ; and if the latter shall be as usefully employed, as the former has been exercised during the late war, all must enjoy plenty, under the blessings of peace. The present favourable season gives a happy prospect of the one, and it is hoped the definitive treaty will long secure the other.

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## VII.

## ADMIRAL LORD KEITH.

I had strong reason to believe, that in March 1804, the French government had seriously resolved to invade England, or at least to make an attempt on the coast. Lord Keith had the command at Dover, and had obtained great credit for the ability with which he had managed the ships under his command. But the impression was very general, that the force employed in watching the enemy at Boulogne, or stationed at the Downs, was not sufficient, either in numbers or strength, for the service required. I therefore drew up a paper, briefly stating what occurred to me upon the subject. In that paper I earnestly begged Lord Keith, as an old friend, to consider the critical state of the country, the greatness of the stake at hazard, and how much depended upon him. I told him, that I believed our strength on land was still very insufficient,—that our safety in consequence principally depended on our Navy, and in a great degree on the fleet under Lord Keith, leaving a dreadful responsibility on the commander. I added, that most probably, the French had in contemplation, not only to come out in great force, but also to try some new modes of attack, the nature of which could not be known till they were put in practice.

That in such a situation, it would be of the most essential advantage to the service, and the greatest possible consolation to a person placed in so critical and important a command, to have some able and experienced officers always about him, to consult with when necessary ; for that the anxiety attending the constant watching of so artful, able, powerful, and desperate an enemy, was enough to wear out the mind of any man.

That if the enemy were to effect a landing, it would depreciate the character of the Navy in the public estimation ; and that the damage done, (which Government had engaged to repay), might be so great, as materially to affect the national resources, and the means of carrying on the war.

I added, it was understood that the French trusted to our ships being becalmed, any danger from which might be prevented in various ways, some of which it might be in my power to suggest.

*Lord Keith's Answer.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am much obliged to you for your letter and its contents. What you say is just. It is very desirable that the enemy should never be suffered to land. I shall be glad to hear from you on any subject, because I am sure it must contain matter of instruction ; but the enemy have so much changed the kind of vessels they are to employ, as to render them unfit to move in a calm. More force and more officers of rank would be very consolatory to me in my situation ; and the stake is certainly a deep one, and for the Ministers to consider well. But it is my duty to use the force that is given me to the best advantage ; and I try to do so, which is not an easy task, with so many disasters and such a call for ships. I have not failed to give my opinion at times, perhaps sometimes right, and sometimes wrong, like other men. Be assured, that I feel obliged by any suggestion sent me by my

friends, among whom I shall always hope that you will be included.

Believe me, Dear Sir John, very sincerely and faithfully  
yours,  
KEITH.

*Sir John Sinclair's Reply.*

MY DEAR LORD,

I am very glad to find that you have taken my hints in the friendly manner in which they were intended, as persons in high situations are apt to consider *as officious*, any *unofficial* letters sent them. God knows ! these times require the exertions of every man. I wish much that mine could be of any service to you, or to the public.

It is impossible for any one to talk in higher terms of another, than Lord St Vincent does of you ; but the better opinion he has of you, the less force, he thinks, must, or may be necessary.

Excuse the liberty I take in sending you any hints from the motive.

I recommend you to keep copies of all letters you write upon the subject, to vindicate yourself, if necessary.

Believe me, my Dear Lord, very sincerely yours.

London, 2d March 1804.

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VIII.

SIR CHARLES MIDDLETON, AFTERWARDS LORD  
BARHAM.

*Letter from Admiral Sir Charles Middleton, afterwards Lord  
Barham, and First Lord of the Admiralty.*

Testen, 6th April 1804.

Sir Charles Middleton presents his best compliments to Sir John Sinclair, and has looked over the papers which he sent him.

They contain so *fully* the opinions which Sir Charles Middleton has already given, and which he has reason to believe are known to Mr Addington, that there is no room left for him to add a single sentence to them.

These papers are in fact a corrected copy of the sentiments communicated by Sir Charles Middleton to some of his friends who had applied for them ; and although he said from fifty to one hundred such ships as are recommended in the plan, yet he would prefer the larger number to the smaller. If such a reinforcement were added to the ships now employed between Flushing and Guernsey, he has no hesitation in saying that a landing in *force* would be impracticable. But if the Ministry trust for those now employed, it requires no great professional knowledge to foresee, that they must land, and in great force.

Sir Charles Middleton knows no other official mode of carrying the plan into execution, than making it a Cabinet measure ; and if approved there, it will naturally find its way to the Admiralty and Navy Boards.

The carronades were always a favourite measure of Sir Charles Middleton ; and although he met with much prejudice and ignorance in opposing it, yet with the assistance of Lord Sandwich, he succeeded in having them established in every class of the King's ships. The opinion at present runs in their favour.

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## IX.

### ADMIRAL SIR HOME POPHAM.

The following letter does infinite credit to Sir Home Popham. I happened to be a member of the select committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of that excellent officer, and being convinced of his innocence, I did every thing in my power, not only to promote his acquittal in the hand-

somest manner, but to expedite it, that he might be again, and without any delay, employed in the public service. By writing such a letter, he has shewn his gratitude in a way that does him much credit. Immediately after the conquest of Buenos Ayres, "*this modern Pizarro*" sat down to write a long epistle, thanking a distant friend for his exertions in his behalf, and giving him an account of his exploits. Gratitude is uncommon enough in private life, but it is still more uncommon to meet with "*a grateful conqueror.*"

Buenos Ayres, July 14. 1806.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is a duty at least that I owe to any member of the *memorable blue* committee, who interested themselves so much as you did in my behalf, to say that your exertions, as far as they tended to promote my immediate employment, have been crowned with success, not only in point of fact, but of beneficial issue to the state.

I believe there are few instances of accounts being received in England, within twelve months, of the sailing of a small expedition, and that such an expedition had captured the capitals of two quarters of the globe, South Africa and South America; for Buenos Ayres is the capital of what is esteemed the richest and most extensive vice-royalty in this country.

With all the success that has attended the promptness of our measures, I still apprehend some blame, excited more probably from the jealousy and discontent of party than any other cause. How could I, with the ardency of my disposition, refuse to profit of the intelligence I had received from various quarters of the defenceless state of the enemy's possessions here? I was forced to employ every argument that could suggest itself, to persuade General Baird to give me a regiment. He, I dare say, acted more properly in resisting my entreaties; but although I confess to be in general too sanguine, and to want cautious circumspection, yet I was not so in this case.

I had also another argument to sustain, after our arrival in the river. The military opinions were to attack Monte Video, and mine to attack the capital. Think, under the various difficulties we had to contend with, of perilous navigation, inaccurate charts, fogs, and winter season. The anti-capitalists were out of patience, and rather cross; but I persevered, and my point has been gained by the wonderful prowess of those very men who thought my dispositions ill judged. I believe, however, they are now all perfectly satisfied; and well they may, for they beat four times their numbers, with the loss of only six men. It is unparalleled in history;—the city containing seventy thousand inhabitants, as quiet as possible, and the whole country apparently well satisfied. They have not, however, quite recovered from their panic, at finding their Viceroy beat from his capital, at the head of five thousand men, by a single Highland regiment, and a few British seamen. Indeed, Sir John, we do not deserve to be scolded. We look to great support from the manufacturing towns, as this country is now in want of nearly two millions of our British goods, and there is in the stores enough of the productions of this country, I understand, to load one hundred sail of ships.

We have now decided not to undertake any further military operations. Without reinforcements we cannot govern Buenos Ayres and Monte Video; and yet I think, when I establish my blockade at the latter, it will soon surrender, and God knows how we are to take care of it. You must embark two or three regiments, by hundreds, in any ships, (men of war), that are ready; and send them out to us singly, without waiting for the parade of a squadron.

Now is the time for England to exert itself, if it wants South America, which is worth all your West India islands, and half India into the bargain. At all events, it is so valuable a gem in the crown of Spain, that it would readily give up Minorca for it. Three days is all that an active ministry ought to allow for the embarkation of troops. Push it all you can.

And believe me, with great respect, my Dear Sir John, yours  
very faithfully,

HOME POPHAM.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

M. P. &c.

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X.

SINGULAR NAVAL ANECDOTE,

Communicated by the late Earl Manvers.

In the year 1807 I happened to pay a visit at Thoresby Park, in Nottinghamshire, the seat of my friend, Lord Manvers, who had been bred to the sea, and who recollected, when young, the following singular anecdote of Captain, afterwards Admiral Swanton :

Captain Swanton happened to command a 70 gun ship, *The Vanguard*, (we had then no 74's in our service) ; and was cruising with Admiral Hawke, off the coast of France, in the hopes of intercepting a French fleet from Louisburgh, when his ship was so damaged in a gale, that he was ordered home to refit ; and in his way to Portsmouth, he most unfortunately came within sight of the very fleet that Hawke was in expectation of intercepting. The French, seeing an English ship of war so much disabled, and apparently quite alone, thought it would be an easy conquest ; but to insure its immediate surrender, the Admiral, by a signal, detached an 80 gun ship, and a 74, to take possession. The officers of the *Vanguard*, knowing the state of their own vessel, and seeing such a superior force coming against them, gave themselves up for lost, and said to the Captain, " It is impossible to stand against such fearful odds ; we must make up our minds to see Brest." — " No, Gentlemen," said Captain Swanton, " a ship of this force, must not be surrendered by a British crew, whilst there is any hope of safety. Go to your quarters, prepare for action, and let us fight it out to the last."

No situation could apparently be more completely desperate. The French 80 gun ship came vapouring down, gave the Englishman a broadside, but was surprised to find, that instead of striking, it returned the fire with great spirit and effect. The 74, when it approached, met with the same reception. This astonished, not only those two ships, but the French Admiral, and his whole fleet. They began to conjecture, that the disabled ship was merely a decoy, and that Hawke must be near, otherwise no officer in his senses, would have made any resistance against so great a superiority; and apprehending, if the action continued, that their ships might receive so much injury, as to be an easy prey, if Hawke actually should appear, the French Admiral was induced to recall the two ships, and Captain Swanton, by his spirited and judicious conduct, was thus enabled, after beating off so great a force, to rescue himself from his desperate situation, and to bring his ship triumphantly into Portsmouth.

On the road from Thoresby, I was led to reflect on the circumstances above detailed, and it accidentally occurred to me, how much better it would be, instead of teaching children the Fables of Æsop \*, or of Pilpay, or giving them allegorical instructions of any sort, to communicate to them anecdotes of real life, and stories of their own species. It is absurd in the extreme to tell our children, that lions and other animals formerly conversed together, and that men, the lords of the creation, could possibly benefit by their remarks. Nor are the fictitious stories of Allworthy and Tommy Goodchild much better. The question the children naturally ask is, “*But is the story true?*” And when they find that it never actually happened, it loses all its effect. Let a collection therefore be made, of *real anecdotes of the human species*, adapted to the capacity of children, and the impression made upon their minds,

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\* In Lord Kames's Introduction to the Art of Thinking, 4th edit. an. 1789, Preface, p. 6, there are some good observations on the subject of Æsop's Fables.



will be infinitely greater, much more lasting, and still more useful, than can be expected from *any fictitious stories*, either of birds, or of quadrupeds, or even of men.

It is not intended, by these observations, to undervalue the merit of *Aesop*, or of *Pilpay*, whose mode of writing was well calculated for the rude and early ages in which they lived, and who were driven to the plan they adopted, because the experience of mankind could not then supply them *with enough of real facts*, for the object they had in view. But now, the case is widely different. The range of history is more enlarged, and persons conversant with it are able to point out real stories, applicable to every moral which it is necessary to inculcate, without attributing the powers of reasoning, or giving the faculty of speech, to the lion, or the tiger. And here it may be asked, *can any ancient or modern fable*, in regard to effect upon the mind, be put in competition with the story of Captain Swanton? What a series of pictures might be made from it! His ship disabled; lying in a manner at the mercy of a powerful enemy; his officers recommending him to surrender; attacked by two ships of greater force; his beating them off; his enemies, though infinitely superior, giving up the attack, and in a manner flying from him; and his ultimately entering the harbour of Portsmouth in triumph. These are all events which must make a deep impression on a youthful mind, and cannot fail to inculcate resolution in time of danger, and firmness even in the most desperate cases, in a way infinitely preferable to any fable that could possibly be invented, because, being founded on truth, the impression is not likely ever to be effaced.

## XI.

## PLAN

*For establishing a new Naval Resource, by which the necessity of impressing Seamen, unless in periods of great public danger, would be prevented.*

The British empire has *a resource of seamen*, in the Orkney and Shetland islands,—in the Hebrides or Western Islands, and along the northern and western coasts of Scotland and Ireland, *which no other country in Europe possesses.*

Under a proper system, and at a moderate expense, 50,000 seafaring people might be kept there, constantly ready, on the shortest notice, to enter into the public service.

A great part of this valuable resource is, at present, lost to the public; because in the Hebrides, and along the western coasts of Scotland and Ireland, the natives have but an imperfect knowledge of the English language, and in many cases speak nothing but Erse or Irish. They have a natural prejudice, therefore, against a service where they cannot make themselves understood.

But this difficulty might easily be surmounted, by promoting the acquisition of the English language in all those districts; and a plan might be formed, by which this great resource might be rendered available, and the horrid system of impressing seamen might be abolished.

Perhaps the sum necessary might be raised, by exempting all seamen from impressment, who paid a certain sum *per annum*, say £.1 each. But if it were to cost the public two or three hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, should this be put in competition with the certainty of maintaining our fleets, without the necessity of impressment; and having so great a body of seafaring people always at command?

Edinburgh, 133. George Street,

April 5. 1830.



**PART V.**

**MILITARY CORRESPONDENCE.**



## MILITARY CORRESPONDENCE.

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IN the course of a conversation with Mr Pitt on the state of the country, after explaining how essential it had become to increase our military strength, in consequence of the gigantic efforts made by the enemy, he said, "That as my estates were in the north of Scotland, and inhabited, he understood, by a race of people who were attached to the military profession, he wished much that I would undertake to raise a regiment of fencibles, and that I should either take the command myself, or nominate any relation or friend for that purpose." My answer was, "That I had never contemplated becoming a soldier, but, as the public-service required such exertions as he had mentioned, I would not hesitate a moment to enter into the plan he proposed, and, instead of restricting the service to Scotland, which had hitherto been the case in regard to fencible corps, would at once agree to raise a battalion *for the service of Great Britain.*" The Minister seemed to be much pleased with the success of his application, and no time was lost in procuring a letter of service, which was dated 7th March 1794. As soon as the regiment was completed, it was inspected by General Sir Hector Munro, at Inverness, and passed with considerable éclat. The corps was particularly distinguished for the great height of the officers, nineteen of whom were above six feet; and hence they were called, in the Gaelic language, "Thier-nan-more," or, "The Great

Chiefs." Being clothed in the Highland dress, their appearance was highly military and imposing.

In spring 1795, I raised a second battalion for the service of Ireland, which was augmented to one thousand men. Lord Lake, who reviewed them at Cork, was astonished at their appearance, and declared, "That though he had often *heard* before of a regiment of a thousand men, he had never *seen* one till that day." They were so remarkable for their discipline and good conduct, that the Magistrates of Armagh unanimously resolved to present the following address to Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser, who commanded them :

SIR,

We, the Magistrates of the county of Armagh, beg leave to testify our highest approbation of the conduct of the Caithness Regiment under your command, during a period of fourteen months, and under circumstances of peculiar difficulty. Divided, from the unfortunate necessity of the times, into various cantonments, and many of them stationed in a manner most unfavourable to military discipline, they yet preserved the fidelity of soldiers, and the manly rectitude of their national character.

It is with equal pleasure and satisfaction we declare, that the tranquillity which this county is now happily beginning to enjoy, must, in many respects, be ascribed to the ready obedience, and proper deportment of the officers and men under your command.

For reasons thus honourable to them, and grateful to ourselves, we return you our most sincere thanks ; and request you will communicate to the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers, this testimony of our esteem, and acknowledgment of their exemplary conduct.

GOSFORD, *Chairman.*

Armagh, 16th December 1796.

The inhabitants of the town of Middleton, and its vicinity, were, if possible, still more energetic in their expressions of gratitude to the Caithness Highlanders, having adopted the following resolutions, at a general meeting held on the 12th of February 1800.

Resolved, unanimously, " That to the temperate zeal, con-

stant vigilance, and exemplary conduct of the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the Caithness Highlanders, uniformly displayed for upwards of two years, we have been indebted, *for the preservation of tranquillity throughout this neighbourhood, and for the fullest degree of protection afforded to our persons and properties, during a period fraught with danger and alarm.*"

Resolved, " That not only this town, but the surrounding country, has derived the greatest advantage from the prudent and judicious use that has been made of the high discretionary powers with which the officers commanding the Caithness Highlanders were invested."

There was nothing for which the two corps were more distinguished, than the superior excellence of their health. In the second battalion, out of 1000 men, officers included, the number of deaths, in the space of seven years, amounted only to 2 officers, and 37 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, not being 3-4ths per man in every hundred each year; and when the first battalion was disbanded at Edinburgh, there was not a single sick man in it. Every individual came to the field, and delivered up his arms in person.

Being apprehensive that men who entered voluntarily into the service, and were to serve during the continuance of the war alone, would not consider themselves tied down to the same strictness of discipline, as regular soldiers who were enlisted for life, I thought it necessary to devise some method of encouraging merit and good behaviour, and checking misconduct; and for that purpose I tried, with much success, the following plan:

Once a month, the regiment was paraded. The officers were assembled around the Colonel, and a muster-roll was given him by the commanding-officer of each company, with eleven columns, filled up as follows:



1. No. in the list.	2. Name.	3. County where born.	4. Kingdom.	5. Age.	6. Size.
7. When enlisted.	8. Length of Service.	9. State of Discipline.	10. Behaviour in the Corps.	11. General Remarks.	

Every man in the list was called up in rotation, and in presence of the whole corps, according to the report made in the muster-roll, he was either publicly applauded or rebuked. On these days, promotions were made; for instance, a private promoted to be a lance-corporal, or a corporal appointed a sergeant; and as this was done, in the presence of the whole battalion, it had an astonishing effect in exciting a spirit of emulation, and preserving an anxiety among the men, for obtaining and preserving a good character.

If such muster-rolls were adopted in every corps throughout the army, it would enable the Commander-in-Chief to have a complete view of its state. It would be known how many soldiers each of the three kingdoms produced; how many young, middle-aged, or old soldiers, were in the service; how many were distinguished by their discipline and their good behaviour, or the reverse. In short, a better view of our military defence would thus be obtained, than is at present the case in any army in Europe.

A plan having been adopted in this regiment, which was likewise introduced into other Highland corps with the best effect, it may be proper here briefly to explain it. It is evident that a distinction ought to be made between unintentional or slight breaches of discipline, and those proceeding from depraved habits, or hardened guilt. For the latter, courts-martial are necessary; but for the former, it was the usual practice in this regiment, to empower an experienced soldier in the same company, to bring the offender to account. He was enjoined to award some slight punishment, and to keep a sharp eye over the culprit afterwards. This plan was attended with the happiest effects; but great caution is re-

quired in the selection of proper men for this moral superintendence. They must be correct in their own conduct; for punishments or advice from men who require both themselves, and shew an example of the very conduct they reprobate, cannot be expected to be received even with common patience, far less with respect, and a resolution to benefit by them. The manner in which the men exercise their authority, should also be looked after, lest they should punish with that undue severity, which persons intrusted with power over their equals are too apt to indulge in.

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I.

LE MARECHAL COMPTE ROMANZOFF SADOUNAISKY.

On the 21st September 1786, I arrived at the ancient town of Carolowitsh in the Ukraine, (about 265 versts \* from Kiew), and there received the following polite note from the above distinguished warrior :

Le Marechal Comte Romanzoff Sadounaisky, très sensible à l'attention que Monsieur le Chevalier Baronet Sinclair, Membre de Parlement d'Angleterre, veut bien lui témoigner, sera très charmé d'avoir l'honneur de le recevoir dans sa maison †.

I immediately proceeded to Wischenskie, where the Marshal resided, and was received with the utmost politeness and hospitality. We dined at two o'clock. A Russian General, two aid-de-camps, and six other officers were present, not

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\* Or 198 English miles.

† Translation.

The Marshal Count Romanzoff Sadounaisky, very sensible of the attention which Sir John Sinclair, Member of the English Parliament, does him the honour to shew him, will be delighted to have the pleasure of receiving him at his house.

one of whom spoke a single word during the whole time, *not even to one another*. The subserviency of the Russian inferior officers to their superiors, is hardly credible to an Englishman. After dinner, we went in a droski and six, with two hussars superbly dressed preceding us, to see a new house, delightfully situated on the Desna, which the Marshal was building for a winter habitation. It was to contain 120 rooms, besides a theatre, &c. In the evening there was tea, and afterwards a Russian play was acted in a large hall, fitted up as a theatre, which passed off much better than I expected. I had much conversation with the Marshal on various subjects, and was highly pleased with the sound sense, information, and politeness he displayed. The epithet *Sadounaisky* is an honourable addition to his name, signifying “ *The Conqueror beyond the Danube.*”

Marshal Romanzow was certainly one of the greatest characters that Russia ever produced. He was a soldier from sixteen, having served very early under Marshal Keith, of whom he spoke in the highest terms, and to whom he attributed the foundation of all his fame and glory. He embraced every opportunity of acquiring military knowledge, and was undoubtedly, when I saw him, one of the first generals in Europe. His only rivals were Marshal Laudohn, and General Moelendorf, Governor of Berlin. His conduct was regulated by principles which did great credit to his understanding. He said, “ That one profession was as much as any man could know thoroughly :” and paid little attention, therefore, to any subject, not immediately of a military nature, or connected with it. “ Nothing is more imprudent,” he observed, “ than to despise an enemy, or by any means to excite his indignation, revenge, or any other strong passion, the energy acquired from which may make up for want of skill or courage.” “ A general,” he farther remarked, “ must be easy and affable to his own troops, without descending to meanness, or being too often seen by them, which must render him less respected.” He himself had learned so much affability by practice, and so

rigidly observed his own rules, that he constantly took off his hat to the very children of his own peasants when they bowed to him. His victories over the Turks are well known. They were founded upon the maxim of acting on the defensive, and of conducting himself with the utmost prudence and circumspection, watching the decisive moment of attack. "For if the Turks," he said, "once break in, there is no resisting their impetuosity." His state of health, in 1786, had been for some time very indifferent, ruined, he observed, by two circumstances, the most destructive of any to the constitution, namely, "*les vieilles de la cour, et les fatigues de guerre ;*" of both of which he had ample experience. He spoke of several English officers with great respect. He was always a staunch friend to an intimate connection between England and Russia, as equally useful to both countries. He lived in great state at his *chateau* of Wischenskie, keeping from eight to ten musicians, a set of Russian comedians, and a number of domestics, his whole establishment affording a very adequate idea of the ancient feudal magnificence.

The following friendly communication from Marshal Romanzow, I consider one of the most valuable in the whole of this collection :

MONSIEUR,

C'est avec bien de la sensibilité, que j'eus l'honneur de recevoir votre billet, Monsieur, et la carte de son voyage septentrional qui l'accompagnoit. Ce souvenir flatteur me pénètre de la plus vive reconnoissance, et me rend d'autant plus empressé à vous assurer pareillement, qu'il me sera bien doux de conserver celui de la visite, dont il vous a plu m'honorer sur ma terre, qui, pour tout merite, jouit de l'avantage d'être insérée dans la carte de ses voyages.

Conformément à la circonstance où je me trouve présentement, ma santé ne peut qu'être bonne. Je désire de tout mon cœur que vous ayez toujours à m'en dire autant de la votre, Monsieur.

J'espère que de tems en tems vous voudrez bien m'hono-

rer de vos lettres, et m'accorder une fois pour toutes la continuation de votre amitié, que je tacherai de mériter par un parfait retour de la mienne.

Agréez, Monsieur, les sentimens de l'estime et de la considération distinguée avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

CHE ROMANZOFF SADOUNAISKI \*.

Parafierka,  
ce 25. Novembre 1787.

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## II.

### MARSHAL BLUCHER.

I wished much to have the pleasure of forming an acquaintance with this celebrated warrior, when he came over, after the battle of Waterloo, to visit England; and for that purpose applied to Alexander Horn, Esq. the British Minister at Ratisbon, who happened to be in London at the time, from whom I received the following letter on the subject, dated 3d July 1815.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

On my return home, I found a message from Blücher to say, that he leaves town for the Duke of Cambridge's seat, but returns on Tuesday evening, and that he will be happy

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\* Translation.

SIR,

It was with peculiar pleasure that I received your note, accompanied by the map of your journey to the North. This flattering mark of your remembrance was highly gratifying; and I hasten to assure you, that I likewise preserve a pleasing remembrance of the visit with which you honoured me, on my residence, which has, as its only merit, the advantage of being inserted in the map of your journey.

From the circumstances in which I am at present placed, my health cannot but be good. I pray with all my heart, that you will always be able to give me the same agreeable information of yours.

I hope that, from time to time, you will honour me with your letters, and will favour me with a continuance of your friendship, which I shall endeavour to merit, by repaying it in return with mine. I have the honour to be, &c.

to make your acquaintance on Wednesday morning at eleven o'clock. Yours most sincerely,

ALEXANDER HORN.

Nothing could be more flattering than the reception given me by Marshal Blucher. He said, that the war being now over, he was anxious to return to the pursuits of agriculture, for which he had always had a partiality ; indeed, that he had already been for fourteen years a farmer. That he had heard a great deal of Scotch husbandry, and wished me to procure for him some Scotch ploughs. He asked, Whether I thought that the Scotch system of husbandry would succeed in Prussia, and what was the best plan for introducing it? I shortened my visit as much as possible, as numbers were in attendance to see him. He was a fine soldier-like person, seemed to possess great quickness of intellect, and activity of person ; and though General Greisenau was the officer on whom the Prussians principally depended, for arranging the plan of a campaign, or of a battle, yet for executing the plan after it was formed,—for rousing the spirit of the soldiery,—for animating them to great exertions,—or for retrieving a defeat,—no officer could surpass Marshal Blucher \*.

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### III.

#### GENERAL THE BARON MUFFLING.

In the course of my inquiries regarding the battle of Waterloo, I found that the Prussian General Muffling had drawn up an account, not only of that engagement, but of the whole campaign, with every advantage of procuring information, as he belonged to the staff of the Prussian army, and was in the confidence of the Duke of Wellington. I was anxious, there-

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\* I afterwards sent him an engraving of the Scotch plough, from which it could be constructed. His aid-de-camp said it was one of the most acceptable presents he had received since his arrival in England.

fore, to have so valuable a work published in England, which he very readily agreed to, and actually employed some of his staff, who understood both German and English, to make the translation of his work \*.

The zeal with which he entered into the plan, will appear from the following communication :

Paris, Hotel du Rhin, Rue de Helder,  
3. Mars 1817.

MON CHER CHEVALIER,

De retour depuis trois mois à Paris, je voulois vous écrire, pour vous en donner la nouvelle, et pour-la, voir si le projet que j'avois formé, et dont je vous avois fait part, par une lettre de Coblenz, a eu votre approbation. Je vous prie, en tout cas, de me donner de vos nouvelles, avant mon depart de Paris, qui aura lieu en 20 jours, pour passer l'été à Coblenz. Si l'Histoire de la Campagne 1815 a paru, Mr. Egerton aura bien la complaisance de m'envoyer deux exemplaires ici, ou, si ce seroit trop tard, à Coblenz par Bruxelles. L'ouvrage n'a pas encore paru en Allemagne; mais c'est d'ici à un mois qu'il sera publié en François et en Allemand.

Agréez l'assurance de l'amitié et de l'estime avec lesquelles je ne cesserai d'être, Monsieur le Chevalier, votre très humble et très obt. serviteur,

CHARLES BARON DE MUFFLING †.

\* It is to be had at Egerton's, Charing-Cross, London.

† Translation.

Paris, 3d March 1817.

MY DEAR SIR,

Having returned three months ago to Paris, I wished to write and inform you of the circumstance, and also to ascertain whether the plan which I had formed, and which I communicated to you by a letter from Coblenz, has met with your approbation. At all events, I beg that you will let me hear from you before I leave Paris, which I shall do in about three weeks, to pass the summer at Coblenz. If the History of the Campaign 1815 has appeared, Mr Egerton will have the goodness to send two copies here; or, if they could not arrive in time, to Coblenz by Brussels. The work has not yet appeared in Germany, but it will be published about a month hence in French and German.

Accept the assurance of the friendship and esteem with which I shall ever remain, &c. &c.

## IV.

## MARSHAL MACDONALD.

Among the celebrated generals who contributed to the success of the Republican Government of France, at the commencement of the Revolutionary war, there is none whose services were of a higher description than those of Marshal Macdonald. I was not, however, aware of their superior importance, until I had lately the opportunity of examining a work entitled, “*Campagnes de General Pichegru aux Armées du Nord, &c. &c.*” Par le Citoyen David, témoin de la plûpart de leurs exploits,” A Paris, 1796. This author’s authority may be the more confidently relied on, as he was an eye-witness of the scenes he describes. The following is the account he gives of Marshal Macdonald’s important services in the course of that campaign :

“ Clairfait s’étant considérablement renforcé par les troupes que Cobourg lui avoit envoyées de Tournai, nous attaqua le 25 (13 Juin, v. st.) sur tous les points, depuis Rousselaer jusqu’à Hooglède. Avec des forces supérieures et l’initiative de l’attaque, il devoit se promettre les plus grands succès ; il entrevit même un instant la victoire ; car son premier choc culbuta et mit en déroute notre aîle droite, qui lui abandonna Rousselaer. Mais la division du Général Souham, et sur-tout la brigade de Macdonald, qui occupoit la plaine d’Hooglède, lui fit bientôt perdre ce premier avantage. Cette brigade, n’étant plus appuyée sur la droite, fut attaquée de front et de flanc, et elle étoit dans une si mauvaise position, que tout autre que Macdonald auroit fait battre la retraite ; mais ce brave Ecossais soutint le premier choc avec une opiniâtreté extraordinaire ; il fut bientôt renforcé par la brigade de Devinther, et ces deux colonnes se battirent avec tant d’acharnement, que l’ennemi fut obligé de plier. On ne fit pas ce jour-



là de prisonniers ; mais on tua une très-grande quantité d'ennemis, et on força Clairfait à abandonner Rousselaer, et à se retirer dans ses positions ordinaires de Thielt."

" Cette bataille a été une des plus sanglantes de la campagne ; mais aussi elle a été la plus décisive, puisqu'elle nous a rendus maîtres d'Ypres, de toute la West-Flandre, et que depuis ce moment l'ennemi n'a pu nous résister, ni au centre, ni à droite, ni à gauche."

" Macdonald avoit été destitué par Saint Just, sous prétexte, que n'étant pas vociférateur, il ne pouvait pas être patriote. Les généraux avoient eu beau affirmer que ce général étoit un excellent officier, un bon républicain, et qu'ils répondoient, qu'au lieu de trahir la République, il la serviroit en brave et bon militaire : N'importe, Saint Just voulait désorganiser l'armée ; il le destitua. On prétend que Richard eut le courage de faire brûler l'arrêté de Saint-Just, et de laisser continuer le service à ce brave militaire. Si cela est vrai, grâces soient rendus à ce bon représentant. Macdonald a parfaitement bien servi dans toutes les occasions ; mais à Hooglède il nous a sauvés. S'il ne s'y fut pas trouvé, nous aurions été peut-être obligés de lever le siège d'Ypres. Que les militaires mesurent l'étendue des maux qui en auroient résulté."

" La garnison d'Ypres ayant appris la défaite de Clairfait, capitula le 29 (17 Juin, v. st.). Quoique forte de 6 à 7 mille hommes, elle ne pouvoit plus nous résister ; elle accepta donc toutes les conditions qu'on lui proposa. Elle laissa tout ce qui étoit dans la place, déposa les armes sur les glacis, et fut faite prisonnière de guerre \*."

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\* Translation.

Clairfait being considerably reinforced by the troops that Coburg had sent to him from Tournay, attacked us on the 25th, (13th June O. S.) upon all points, from Rousselaer to Hoogledede. With superior forces, and the advantage of beginning the attack, he was justified in promising himself the greatest success ; he had even a momentary prospect of victory, for his first onset overthrew and put to the rout our right wing, which left him in possession of Rousselaer. But the division of General Souham, and especially the brigade of Macdonald, which occupied the plain of Hoogledede, soon made him lose this first advantage. This brigade, being no longer supported on the right, was attacked front and rear,

Greater compliments could not have been paid to any general. It is stated, that in the unfortunate position in which his brigade was placed, *any other general but Macdonald* would have sounded a retreat; and though he had behaved well on many other occasions, yet that at Hooglede *he had saved the army.*

Marshal Macdonald is of Scotch extraction, and the French Republicans were extremely jealous of his aristocratic name, and the attachment of his family to the Royal House of Stuart. His father took an active part in the unsuccessful attempt made by the Pretender in 1745, to recover the throne he claimed; and, in the course of a tour which the Marshal made in Scotland, though very short, he went to the island of

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and it was in such a bad position, that any other than Macdonald would have sounded a retreat; but this brave Scotsman supported the first shock with extraordinary obstinacy; he was soon reinforced by the brigade of Devinther, and these two columns fought with so much fury, that the enemy was obliged to yield. They made no prisoners that day, but they killed a great number of the enemy, and they forced Clairfait to abandon Rousselaer, and to retire to his ordinary position at Thielt.

This battle was one of the most bloody of the campaign, but it was also the most decisive, since it rendered us masters of Ypres, of all West Flanders, and as from that moment the enemy was not able to resist us, either in the centre, or to the right or left.

Macdonald had been deprived of the command by St Just, under the pretext, that, as he was not a declaimer, he could not be a patriot. In vain did the generals affirm, that he was an excellent officer, a good republican, and that, instead of betraying the republic, they would be responsible for his serving it like a brave and good soldier. This was of no consequence. St Just wanted to disorganise the army, and deprived him of the command. It is said that Richard had the courage to burn the decree of St Just, and to permit this brave soldier to continue in the service. If so, gratitude is due to this excellent representative. Macdonald has served perfectly well on all occasions; but at Wooglede he saved us. Had he not been there, we might have been forced to raise the siege of Ypres. Let military men judge of the extent of the misfortunes which would have resulted.

The garrison of Ypres having heard of the defeat of Clairfait, capitulated on the 29th, (17th June O. S.). Although they amounted to 6 or 7000 men, they could no longer resist us, and therefore agreed to all the conditions proposed by us. They left behind every thing that was in the place, laid down their arms on the glacis, and became prisoners of war.

South Uist, chiefly to see the cave in which Prince Charles and his father had sheltered themselves from the pursuit of their enemies \*.

Marshal Macdonald entertains the highest idea of the Scotch Highlanders, for their fidelity, courage, and loyalty. He accounted it an honour to be considered their countryman, and he resolved to imitate them in the career which he followed. He was proud also, to bear the name, and to belong to the family of Macdonald, which, for ages, has been so justly celebrated for their courage, and the elevation and purity of their sentiments.

When he visited Scotland, he received the most flattering reception ; and, in a recent letter I received from him, dated Paris, 25th March 1830, he expresses his hopes and wishes, that the period will yet arrive, when he will be able to revisit a country, for which both he and his son (who is to accompany him), feel so strong an attachment.

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## V.

### BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

Having acquired some knowledge of military matters, I felt a great desire to obtain the most authentic information that could be procured, regarding the greatest military event of modern times, "THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO," and took an excursion to the Continent for that purpose.

Upon applying to the Duke of Wellington, for his aid to complete the account I proposed to draw up of that celebra-

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\* The Marshal is distinguished by a most accurate memory, which he proved by giving his route from the day he left Paris till his arrival at Edinburgh, naming every stage where he stopt, the day of the month, &c. He said that military men must accustom themselves to be very exact in those matters. At Paris he usually rises every morning at five. He says, there is so much gossiping and visiting in France, that the morning is the only time for doing business.

ted engagement, he said, " I can give you no information that would be of any use to you. My mind was so completely occupied with the *great events* of the battle, that I could not pay any attention to its *minor details*. All that I can tell you is, that we met the enemy ; that we fought a battle ; and that we gained a victory."

The information, however, which I obtained from others, was very satisfactory. I traced in the field itself, and its neighbourhood, the whole progress of the engagement ; and by means of a correspondence with the officers who had commanded at Hougomont and La Haye Sainte, I obtained the most interesting particulars regarding the attacks on those two most important places \*. In regard to the account I had drawn up of the attack on Hougomont, in particular, I had the pleasure of receiving the following letter from Colonel Woodford, who, for some time, had the command at that post.

Cambray, June 24. 1816.

Colonel Woodford presents his compliments to Sir John Sinclair, and begs to return his thanks for the honour he has done him, in sending him the printed account of the defence of Hougomont, which Colonel Woodford would have acknowledged sooner, had he not been absent from Cambray when that paper was received.

Colonel Woodford is persuaded, that the officers and men of the 1st Coldstream, and 3d Regiments of Guards, who had the honour of defending different points of that post, will feel particularly indebted to Sir John Sinclair, for the manner in which he has collected and published these details.

The work of General Muffling, already mentioned, (a translation of which into English I was the means of procuring,) is by far the best military description of Napoleon's last cam-

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\* La Haye Sainte was taken by the French, because there was no access by which ammunition could be introduced into it, but by an entrance which was commanded by the cannon of the enemy.

paign, and the great events therewith connected, that has ever yet been published.

General Foy, who was employed in the attack on Hougomont, made an excellent remark on the battle of Waterloo. “ *Il n'étoit pas une bataille, mais un duelle.*” It was not a battle, but *a duel*, between the two armies; for there was no manœuvring, and nothing but sheer fighting. The duration of the combat gave the English army a great advantage; for though the French are equally brave, they have not *the same bottom*, or physical strength, as the English: and if a battle is protracted for many hours, the former have not the same chance of success.

It is said that Grouchy was prevailed upon by Vandamme not to think of joining Napoleon, (who, he said, would defeat the English without his aid), but to march to Brussels, for the purpose of plundering that city. If so, the ruin of Napoleon was partly owing to his having retained an officer in his service, whom he ought to have discarded, as among the most unprincipled in his conduct, of any that the French Revolution had produced.

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## VI.

### HINTS REGARDING THE PROPOSED REDUCTIONS IN OUR PEACE ESTABLISHMENTS.

There is no circumstance that seems to me more dangerous to the prosperity, and indeed the safety, and independent existence of the nation, than those plans for reducing our naval and military establishments, which it is now so common to recommend.

Without the prospect of an adequate subsistence, and permanent employment, there is no inducement to a sufficient number of persons, more especially of those spirited and elevated characters who are alone capable of adding to the fame

of their country, and insuring its safety, to engage in the naval and military professions; and when it is complained that we are at a great expense in keeping up those establishments, it ought to be considered, that it is only a provision for some of our countrymen, who are thus retained, in a perpetual state of preparation, to defend their fellow-subjects.

Indeed, the lowness of our peace establishments has always been of great disadvantage to this country, at the commencement of a war. In general we have had but few men with much practice in the naval or military departments, or capable of teaching those whom we were under the necessity of raising. The consequence has been, that wars were inefficiently commenced, were unnecessarily prolonged, *and were ultimately rendered much more expensive, than if we had begun with a greater force at our command.*

It is said, that we must *husband our resources*, in order to enable us to carry on a new war, should it break out. Such a doctrine seems to me extremely exceptionable. It goes upon the idea, that the national resources are *stationary*. On the contrary, I maintain that they are *progressive*, and that if a government would wisely promote, in time of peace, its agricultural, commercial, and other means of acquiring wealth, no apprehension need to be entertained of any deficiency of resources, should a war unavoidably break out.

But we are told, that such and such reduced establishments were sanctioned by former Parliaments. To that my answer is, "It might as well be contended, that the clothes of a school-boy should be worn by a full-grown man, as that the establishments of a moderate-sized kingdom are calculated for the preservation and safety of an extensive empire."

The great object of a nation ought to be "*security*," which never can exist *without ample establishments*, more especially with an empire so extensive as Great Britain is at present. Can any thing be more alarming to a right-minded and well informed patriot, than the information we have just received, that France is sending a formidable fleet, and an

army of fifty thousand men, to attack Algiers? I should be glad to know, if our establishments were reduced so low as has recently been contended for, what would become of this country, if such an army were to land in England, to which the invention of steam navigation gives so much facility? How could we, without volunteers,—without yeomanry,—without a trained militia,—and with contracted naval and military establishments, resist such an invasion?

I cannot conclude these cursory observations, without stating it as an opinion, with the justness of which I am deeply impressed, that a thorough knowledge of the art of war, is far from being so easily acquired as is commonly imagined. Accustomed to business, and to spare no pains in acquiring information respecting any subject to which I might be led to direct my attention, I expected that a very short period would be sufficient to teach me all that it was necessary for an officer to know. I found, however, such an idea was extremely ill founded;—that a man can no more become a real soldier in a few weeks or months, than become thoroughly master, in so short a space, of any other trade. Young men, therefore, ought to be regularly trained to war, as to any other art, from an early period of their life. Hence naval and military academies seem to me as necessary, as universities for law, or medicine, or divinity; and we shall never be able to have a sufficient number of skilful officers, or at least, in that respect, to stand in competition with the warlike nations on the Continent, or even with the new empire of America, unless such seminaries as that of Woolwich and Sandhurst, are established in different parts of the kingdom, where all the young men, destined for the public defence, may have a foundation laid, of knowledge in the art of war, previous to their entering into the service.

## **PART VI.**

### **CLERICAL CORRESPONDENCE.**





## CLERICAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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I propose dividing my Clerical Correspondence into four branches; 1. England; 2. Scotland; 3. America; and, 4. France.

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### 1.—ENGLAND.

#### I.

#### DR MOORE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

ONE of the great objects I had in view, by the establishment of a Board of Agriculture, was to procure a Statistical Account of England, similar to that which I had completed in Scotland, by means of the clergy of that country. For that purpose, in forming the plan of the Board, I proposed, that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of London and Durham, should be officially members; and when it was intended to appoint two secretaries, that one of them should be a respectable literary character, *belonging to the Church of England*, for carrying on the statistical correspondence with its clergy. Several respectable characters were mentioned; but the nomination being left to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he recommended the Rev. Dr Shepherd, who, I believe, was one of his chaplains. Unfortunately, however, the Archbishop was informed, that, in the course of the statistical researches, the subject of tithes would be included. He

immediately informed Mr Pitt, (who was favourable to my plans, but did not wish to enforce them if not approved of by the church), that neither he, nor, he believed, any of the Bishops, would promote an inquiry in which the subject of tithes would be discussed; and he likewise sent me the following note, withdrawing his recommendation of Dr Shepherd:

Lambeth House, July 26. 1793.

The Archbishop of Canterbury presents his compliments to Sir John Sinclair, with many thanks for the papers he has done him the honour to send him. He has not troubled him with Dr Shepherd's address; because he is of opinion, on mature consideration, that the appointment of a clergyman, especially a clergyman who has a living with cure of souls, to be an official secretary to any Board that will take up so much of his time, and is not entirely, or at least chiefly, employed in matters relative to religion, is liable to much objection. He has therefore withdrawn his recommendation.

The opposition of the Archbishop, by influencing Mr Pitt, was fatal to the statistical account of England. No circumstance could have been more provoking, nor in a public point of view more unfortunate. There was not the least idea of interfering with the property of the church, either in regard to tithes, or in any other respect; and it was with the view of preventing any jealousy of the sort, that the leading members of the church, were officially nominated members of the Board. Every thing was prepared for carrying on a parochial inquiry on a great scale; but owing to the circumstance above mentioned, England was deprived of that minute, or "*anatomical species of political survey*," which would have fully explained, both its existing state, and the means of its future improvement. Had that been accomplished, many of those calamities, so often since experienced, would most probably have been averted.

Had the plan of parochial inquiries been adopted, it would have been carried on at a moderate expense; but when that

system was abandoned, I was obliged to adopt the plan of *county*, instead of parochial reports. This occasioned greater expense, (for it was necessary to pay those who executed county reports,) and required a longer period for its execution.

In a private affair in which I happened to be much interested, the Archbishop shewed a very flattering mark of his attention. Having heard much of a school at Sunbury in Middlesex, kept by the Rev. Dr Moore, to which I proposed sending my eldest son, I took the liberty of applying to his Grace for information respecting it. The Archbishop not having any personal knowledge of that academy, took the trouble of applying for information to the Bishop of London, and of sending me the following letter :

SIR,

I have to acknowledge the honour of your note respecting Dr Moore of Sunbury in Middlesex : but not having any acquaintance, nor indeed any knowledge whatever of him, it occurred to me to write to the Bishop of London, who, as his Diocesan, might probably be able to give a sufficient answer to your inquiry concerning him.

I now inclose to you the Bishop's letter, and have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

J. CANTUAR.

Lambeth House, January 2. 1802.

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## II.

DR RICHARD WATSON, BISHOP OF LLANDAFF.

This celebrated divine \* was by far the greatest character, for strength of intellect, that had appeared in the Church of

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\* The tradition was, that the family originally came from Scotland ; but they had been long settled at Shap, in Westmoreland. Life, p. 3.

England since the days of Warburton. Such was his dignity of manner, and readiness in conversation, that I often introduced to him a self-sufficient foreigner, whom I wished to see humbled, knowing that there was not an individual better able to administer the wholesome discipline. I took care to have the Bishop nominated one of the original members of the Board of Agriculture, and he did ample justice to that appointment. During his residence in London, he regularly attended the meetings of the Board; and not only took an active part in all its proceedings, but drew up some useful papers for it,—in particular, an excellent introduction to the Agricultural Report of his native county of Westmoreland.

The Bishop left behind him a History of his Life, from which a number of aphorisms have been drawn up, which seem to me so extremely valuable, that out of respect to the memory of so excellent an author, I have inserted them in the Appendix.

In his published life, he has inserted two letters written to me on agricultural topics, which it is unnecessary here to reprint \*. But I have much pleasure in laying before my readers, extracts from some of the other communications I had the pleasure of receiving from that great character, whose friendship I so highly valued, and whose encouragement was so strong an inducement, to prosecute the multiplied and laborious investigations, to which my attention, from time to time, was directed.

*Extracts from various Letters from the Bishop of Llandaff to Sir John Sinclair.*

1. “ You are always employed with honour to yourself and utility to the country. You may be praised, but you will not be promoted to any beneficial situation; for Government is jealous of abilities, united with a spirit of independence and political investigation. Your Statistical Queries are all good, but they are too numerous to be answer-

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\* One written an. 1799, (see Bishop Watson's Life, p. 333,) and another dated 26th January 1810, (see p. 515.)

ed with precision by a country clergyman. If answered, however, in part, they will lay a foundation for parochial histories, which will themselves become the corner stones of the national political history of your country." (Oct. 4. 1790.)

2. "As to this country, we have nothing to apprehend from the restlessness of a few individuals. Our constitution is fundamentally good; and it must be in an hour of *extreme distress*, such as *the American war* occasioned, that the nation at large will be brought to think that there are any defects in it. My opinion of defects in the *ecclesiastical* part of the constitution is well known; and I have no scruple in saying, that the corruption of Parliament, and the chicanery of the law, are *civil* evils; but I am an enemy to any violent modes of reforming these evils. On the other hand, it may be remarked, that no corrupted body ever reformed itself;—that the expectation of the Parliament's correcting its own abuses is chimerical;—and that the law and the church have so much influence with the Parliament, that no amendment of them is to be expected from that source." (28th October 1792.)

3. "I have not seen the report on potatoes. Similar reports ought to be made on cabbages, carrots, (a good one on carrots is given in Mr Young's Annals), turnips, clover, &c. &c. By this means knowledge would be more easily circulated than by any other, and every farmer would have an opportunity of consulting that particular report, the subject of which engaged his attention." (November 1795).

4. "Weight of taxation has long ago extinguished the yeomanry of the country. It must compel gentlemen of less than two thousand a-year, either to turn farmers, or to migrate to some country where the luxuries of life, which those of that fortune will have, may be purchased at an easier rate than they can be in Great Britain. Mr Gouverneur Morris, who staid with me two days, and whose conversation is intelligent and amusing, speaks of New York, where a man of a thousand a-year, may have as many comforts and superfluities, which custom has rendered necessities, as he can for twice that income in England." (November 1795).

5. "I have not sent any subscription to the Board, not from a desire to save my money, but from a stern reluctance to assist, by pri-

vate donation, a Board, *which ought to be liberally supported by legislative munificence*. When will a great minister arise, who, detesting the expenses of war, shall be disposed to expend but ten millions on the agricultural improvement of the country? This sum, (not a tenth of what this unfortunate war will cost us), would, in less than fifty years, if properly expended, double the number of the inhabitants, and quadruple the wealth and strength of Great Britain." (November 1795).

6. "I am glad that your active spirit has turned your attention to Gaelic literature, of which I know nothing but from Ossian's Poems. They are now, I presume, originals, and they are certainly simple and sublime.

"A Mr Davies lately published a learned book, entitled, Celtic Researches. I never saw the man, but was so well pleased with his work, that I have given him a living, the best almost in my patronage, and I have not above four or five. You must look upon me, then, as a co-operator, or, at least, a well-wisher in your new pursuit." (February 1796).

7. "I must think the kingdom is highly indebted to you, for bringing forward a species of knowledge, (statistics), wholly new in this country, though not new in other parts of Europe. Such knowledge constitutes the basis of enlightened legislation, and general prosperity; but it requires pains to attain it, and an enlarged mind to comprehend its utility; and the ministers of the day are so much occupied in the disgraceful operations of securing, "*per fas et nefas*," majorities in Parliament, that they have neither inclination to enter into, nor leisure to prosecute its inquiries." (16th August 1800).

8. "I received the statement of your improvements, &c., a post before I got your letter; and I now write, merely to express to you my high approbation of what you are doing. You are securing opulence to your family, honour to yourself, and advantage to the country. Go on and prosper." (November 10. 1802).

9. "Your Prospectus (of the Code of Health), I have read with great pleasure, and like the plan of it, though I think it upon too large a scale to be accomplished, as it ought to be, in the short time you mention, notwithstanding my high opinion of your genius and indefatigable

ability. Dr Hufeland says, that he spent eight years in composing his *Treatise on the Art of Prolonging Life*; and you talk of a few months. It will be worth your while to look into his book, and to consult a favourite author of mine,—Sanctorius." (November 1804).

10. "Your tracts on longevity I see are in the press. I cannot but admire, both the activity of your genius, and the versatility of your talents. Take care, however, that you do not injure your health. The desire of fame is as dangerous to a literary man, as that of martial celebrity is to a soldier." (October 1806).

11. "I rejoice in your being again in Parliament: your country is greatly obliged to you; and the improvement in agricultural pursuits, which is observable in every county I passed through in my journey, ought to be ultimately referred to you." (July 4. 1807).

12. "To say of you that you are more indefatigable than a Scotchman, (though an high praise), is not saying half enough of you; for who but yourself would have ever thought of writing the history of a voyage from Caithness to Aberdeen? I thank you for it, and see that nothing respecting the public good escapes you." (June 1807).

13. "You are constantly distinguishing me by your attentions, and I accept them as honourable marks of the regard of a man, whose exertions, on the improvement of the country, have been uniform and successful. To you we owe the establishment of the Board of Agriculture, and to that Board we owe the spirit of rendering cultivated lands more productive, and waste lands cultivable." (6. April 1810).

14. "My head has a constant pain in it; but whether it will end in a paralytic stroke in the spring, no doctor can tell; therefore I consult none, BUT WAIT, WITH FORTITUDE AND HUMBLE TRUST, THE EXIT OF THIS LIFE, AND THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER. Your affectionate friend,

R. L."

(December 1811).

(The initials of Richard,  
Bishop of Llandaff.)

The above is the last letter I received from this excellent character. He died on the 4th of July 1816, in the 79th



year of his age. Some time before he died, his health had rapidly declined, and bodily exertion had become extremely irksome to him. Though his mental faculties remained unimpaired, yet he cautiously refrained from every species of literary composition, having resolved not to expose himself to the admonition of a Gil Blas.

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## III.

THE REV. DR CHAPMAN, VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

Having been partly educated at Trinity College, Oxford, and taking an interest in the prosperity of that celebrated University, I was happy that, in the course of my great continental tour, I had procured an ancient edict, which I thought would be acceptable in that celebrated seat of learning. It was the edict against the Bacchanals, which I had procured at Vienna. I thought it right therefore to send it to my old tutor, Dr Chapman, who was the Head of Trinity, and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. His answer I subjoin.

SIR JOHN,

I had the honour of your obliging letter some days since, with a copy of the celebrated edict against the Bacchanals, which shall be properly placed in the Bodleian Library.

I beg you will accept the acknowledgments of the University for your polite attention, and believe me, Sir John, your obliged and obedient humble servant,

JOS. CHAPMAN.

Trin. Coll. May 31. 1788.

I thank you for the map of your tour.

## IV.

## DEAN TUCKER.

This respectable dignitary of the church had a peculiar turn for political discussions. He was almost the only man in England who contended, that the independence of the American colonies, instead of ruining England, (which was the general belief, both at home and on the Continent), would ultimately prove highly advantageous to both countries,—an opinion which has been justified by the event. In fact, overgrown dominions are as injurious to a state, as corpulence to an individual. They are the source, not of strength, but of weakness. When a war breaks out, the fleets and armies of the country are employed in protecting distant possessions, instead of being used as the means of internal defence; and it is thus exposed to risks, from which it might otherwise be exempted. How far such observations may be applicable to any of the possessions of the British Crown, it would certainly be desirable that our Government should deliberately consider.

The work alluded to in the subjoined letter from the Dean, was an account, I proposed to draw up, of an excursion to France, in the course of which I had collected much information favourable to the system of commercial freedom which the Dean had inculcated.

Gloucester, Feb. 23. 1786.

SIR,

Being seized with a giddiness, which has continued a long time, I am obliged to have recourse to an amanuensis to answer your letter. I am happy to hear that you are returned from the Continent, full of instruction to our deluded countrymen. The right way to proceed is to mind their own affairs. We have no need to wage war with other nations, either in a commercial or a martial sense; for if we sell our own

goods cheaper, foreigners will certainly buy of us, and we cannot expect they would lay out their money on other terms.

Whenever your book shall appear, I will do myself the pleasure to give it a thorough reading, and promise myself much information from its contents. With these sentiments, I am, Sir, your obliged humble servant,

J. TUCKER.

John Sinclair, Esq.

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V.

THE REV. DR PRICE.

We were both much attached to financial discussions, in consequence of which I was induced to draw up, not only some tracts on the subject, but also a general history of the revenue of the British empire. Dr Price having communicated to me some tables he had prepared, explanatory of the powers of a sinking fund in reducing a national debt, I proposed to the Doctor, annexing them to a work, which I was about to publish on our finances; but I was glad to find, that he had communicated the tables to Mr Pitt, as it was probable he would avail himself of them. Dr Price's letter on that subject is subjoined.

Newington Green, April 30. 1786.

DEAR SIR,

I have considered anxiously your proposal to me with respect to the publication of my tables, and cannot but be sorry, that there should be any reasons, which oblige me to decline complying with your desire in this instance. I feel a delicacy with respect to Mr Pitt; and I should wish, were they to be published, to accompany them with some explanations and remarks, which I think necessary to fit them more for the public inspection, but which I cannot now get time to prepare. I

am likewise not without all hope, that should Mr Pitt persist in the plan he has adopted, he may think proper to insert, in the act of Parliament, (as the King of France has done in his edict), some table of the same kind, with one of these tables as a proper direction to the commissioners, an encouragement to the public, and a security to the fund.

Under a sense of the honour you do me, by desiring that any thing of mine should make a part of your publication, and with great respect, I am, Dear Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

RICH<sup>d</sup>. PRICE.

To Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

Mr Pitt's plan of a sinking fund certainly originated with Dr Price; but that does not detract from the merits of a minister, whose duty it is, and whose glory it ought to be, to avail himself of the talents and information of others, for promoting the public good.

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## VI.

### THE REV. DR KIPPIS.

Among my other literary correspondents, the Reverend Dr Kippis was one in whose judgment I placed considerable reliance; and having transmitted to him a tract, written in the year 1782, on the propriety of retaining Gibraltar, I transmitted it to him for his opinion whether the work should be published. His answer is subjoined:

Dr Kippis's compliments to Mr Sinclair, and cannot but express his earnest wish, that he would set his name to so valuable a publication, and which may be of the greatest importance to this country at the present juncture.

Crown Street, Dec. 27. 1782.

## VII.

## THE REV. DR PRIESTLEY.

The merits of Dr Priestley as a philosopher are well known, and, though compelled to take refuge in America, he was not indifferent to the agricultural prosperity of his native country. He sent me therefore, as President of the Board of Agriculture, an account of a very interesting discovery made by Mr Cooper, an American farmer ; and soon afterwards I received the following letter from the Doctor, introducing his son, an American farmer, to whom, of course, I paid every attention in my power during his residence in England.

SIR,

In answer to your obliging letter, I sent you an account of some agricultural improvements made by a Mr Cooper of this country, which Mr Liston, the English ambassador here, undertook to transmit to you. I therefore hope you have received it. This will be delivered, I hope, by my son, who is an American farmer, and very desirous of learning every thing new and important relating to agriculture. You will oblige me very much by putting him in the way of receiving any information of the kind. My pursuits have but little connexion with yours. I admire, however, the zeal and intelligence with which you apply to them, and rejoice in your success. With every good wish, I am, Sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

Northumberland, (in America,)

Dec. 22. 1798.

## 2.—SCOTCH CLERGY.

## I.

## THE REV. DR ROBERTSON.

This celebrated historian, who was the leader of the Church of Scotland, warmly supported my researches into the political circumstances of that country, and indeed, without his powerful aid, I could not have expected so much success in the undertaking. He furnished me with a particular detail of his own parish, and pressed all his friends to follow his example. From the subjoined letter it appears, that he had come from his residence in the country, on purpose to meet me at Edinburgh, partly in consequence of my having drawn up some remarks on his History of America, in the success of which I took a warm interest. He seems to have taken my strictures in very good part, as a truly great mind always will do, for an author ought to consider that he writes, not so much to please himself, as for the pleasure and instruction of others.

SIR,

As I reside in the country during the vacation of our College, I was so unfortunate as not to hear, in proper time, of your being in Edinburgh in September. The moment I knew of your being there, I came to town, in order to wait upon you; but you had set out for the south the day before.

I wished to have returned you thanks, for some very ingenious remarks on my History of America, which Mr Strahan communicated to me. Most of them are so just, that I have adopted them in an edition of that book now in the press. With respect to a few of the strictures, I differed from you in opinion, and should have been glad to have benefited by a conversation with one, who had read the work with so much attention and discernment.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

College of Edinburgh,  
December 18. 1777.

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II.

DR BLAIR.

The celebrated Dr Blair was my father's intimate friend, and I had been taught to regard him with hereditary respect and affection. I had also attended his lectures on rhetoric in the University of Edinburgh, and was anxious to cultivate an intercourse with one who was so much distinguished for his literary powers and accomplishments. On forming the intention of visiting Russia, I naturally thought, that a letter from Dr Blair, to the Princess Daschkow, would be of great use; and, as appears from the subjoined letter, he immediately complied with my request.

DEAR SIR,

I was favoured with your letter this forenoon; and according to your desire, I now, by the return of post, inclose a letter of introduction to you to the Princess Daschkow. I have had no occasion to write to her, except once, since she left Scotland; but as I was much in habits of friendship with her, I make no doubt of my letter answering the purpose you would wish, of procuring you all civilities from her. She is an uncommonly clever and accomplished woman. You will find her acquaintance very worthy of being cultivated, especially as she is at the head of the Academies of Petersburg. In her political principles she is much inclined to republicanism and liberty; and when here, was always more connected with Opposition than with Government. I hope it is mere-

ly improvement, or public business, and not any consideration of health, that leads you at present to go abroad. I most heartily wish you an agreeable journey, and safe return ; and shall be happy to have the pleasure of seeing you again in this country : having the honour to be, with great respect,  
Dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

HUGH BLAIR.

Edinburgh, 22d May 1786.

As the Doctor had taken so warm an interest in my northern tour, I sent him the perusal of a very interesting communication from Count Hertsberg, and also some accounts I had drawn up and printed, but not published, respecting Denmark, Sweden and Russia. The subjoined letter, which he sent me regarding those particulars, is evidently written with considerable ability.

MY DEAR SIR,

I return you, with a great many thanks, the Comte de Hertsberg's letter, which gives a very natural picture of the melancholy and discontented state of a great minister, dismissed from office, and reduced to a private station. From the account he gives of his services to the public, I should incline to think, he has been hardly used by his sovereign. The presumption is, that one who had been so long employed by the great Frederick, must have been an able and discerning man. The translation, which reads exceeding well, does honour to Lady Sinclair. I showed the letter, as you allowed me, to Dr Robertson.

I return you also your observations, in three parts, on Russia, Sweden and Denmark ; for the perusal of which I am exceedingly obliged to you. They convey much curious matter, and much information on the state of these kingdoms ; and do honour to that accurate and scrutinizing observation, with which you surveyed public affairs when you was abroad. Indeed, neither at home, nor abroad, do you allow yourself to



be unemployed, or inattentive to the public. Since the time you made that tour, the face of affairs in some of these countries, in Sweden particularly, has altered greatly. But still, many of your observations remain applicable to the present state of things. Though I wish the public were in possession of part of your intelligence, yet considering some of the anecdotes you relate, and the freedom with which you treat some distinguished persons in high office in those kingdoms, I think you were much in the right, not to allow these papers to go into public circulation, but to print only a few copies for the perusal of your friends. Wishing you all success in your public-spirited and useful labours, I have the honour to be, with great respect and esteem, my Dear Sir, your most obedient and faithful humble servant,

HUGH BLAIR.

Argyle Square, 5th December 1792.

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### III.

THE REV. DR HILL, PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY  
OF ST ANDREWS.

On the death of Dr Robertson, the Rev. Dr Hill of St Andrews became the leader of what was distinguished by the name of "*The Moderate Party*," in the Church of Scotland,—a situation to which he was well entitled, not only from the excellence of his talents, but from the superior powers of eloquence by which he was eminently distinguished.

The following letter gives a favourable specimen of Dr Hill's turn for epistolary correspondence :

St Mary's College, St Andrews, May 1. 1809.

SIR,

I have observed, with much satisfaction, the liberal invitations given, by some great proprietors in England, to Scots

farmers ; and as you have not adopted the doctrine of Sir Francis Burdett, that attention to agricultural pursuits is inconsistent with the character of a statesman, I know that it will be gratifying to your patriotic mind to observe the improvement of land, and a just appreciation of its value, moving from the north southwards ; and I may count upon your giving this spirit every encouragement that can be expected from a person in your condition.

Entertaining these sentiments, I will make no further apology for the trouble I now presume to give you.

Mr Alexander Meldrum, who resides about ten miles from this place, is to set out, in a few days, upon a tour of some weeks, through England ; and proposes, at the end of it, to treat with the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Porchester, or any of the other great proprietors who have expressed an inclination to receive tenants from Scotland. He belongs to a class of sober industrious farmers, in this corner of Fife, who have risen, during the course of last century, by that profession, to considerable wealth ; and, in their several branches, are now possessed of a great deal of landed property in this neighbourhood. My information concerning Mr Alexander Meldrum, with whom I am not personally acquainted, is derived from Mr Maule, the clergyman of his parish, (Forgan), a person in whom I can place entire confidence. He is unmarried, about forty, a steady correct man, an intelligent active farmer ; perfectly acquainted with the modern improvements, and accustomed to practise them with success. He has realized a capital of eight or ten thousand pounds, which he carries to England, and wishes to devote to agricultural pursuits ; and his skill is not inferior to his capital.

His nephew, Dr Ramsay, a respectable physician, to whom I lie under great domestic obligations, called upon me, a few days ago, to say that his uncle wished, upon going to London, to have some respectable person in an eminent situation, to whom those with whom he was to treat, might be referred ; and to request my assistance in procuring him that most ho-

nourable and essential advantage. You will not be surprised that your name instantly occurred to my mind ; and you will not easily conceive the satisfaction which Dr Ramsay derived from the hope which I opened to him, that his uncle might be permitted to refer to a name which carries with it so much respect and authority.

I trust you know me well enough, to consider me as incapable of attempting to impose upon you, an account of any person, which I have not the best reason for believing to be true. Of the greater part of what I have said in relation to Mr A. Meldrum, he is in possession of written documents ; and if you discern any defect in what he may request leave to shew you, I believe it can easily be supplied. But as many persons will be more disposed to rest upon your testimony than to read a number of papers, I have ventured to promise that you will encourage this adventurer, and invite others to follow his steps, by having the condescension to permit him to say to the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Porchester, or any other person with whom he may treat, that you have seen testimonials of his character, his skill, and his substance, with which you are satisfied.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

GEO. HILL.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

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IV.

REV. DR DAVIDSON, PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

During the course of my northern tour, I was fortunate enough to obtain a fac-simile copy of the famous *Senatus Consultum* against the Bacchanals, which I resolved to present to the University of Glasgow. I entertained a filial respect for

that learned foundation, having been partly educated there, principally for the advantage of attending the legal and political lectures of the celebrated Professor John Millar. It appears, by the subjoined letter from Dr Davidson, that the University, at the same time that they thanked me for this mark of attention, had the goodness to confer on me the dignity of Doctor of Laws.

SIR,

I had the honour of presenting the fac-simile of the famous *Senatus Consultum* against the Bacchanals, which you were so good as to give me at Edinburgh, to the Senate of this University, on the 10th of June current, which they highly esteem, and truly reckon it a great acquisition to our University Library, and desired me to return you our most sincere and cordial thanks for this valuable and acceptable present. This I now do with the greatest pleasure; and I have, at the same time, the honour and pleasure of informing you, that our Senate, as a testimony of their high esteem for your distinguished literary merit, unanimously conferred upon you that same day, an honorary degree of LL. D.

I should certainly have done myself the honour of writing to you before this time, had I not waited for the diploma being ready and signed; but I now find, that as all our Professors are dispersed in the vacation, it will be impossible to get it signed till they assemble again. But I shall take care when they do, to send the diploma to Isaac Grant, Esq. to be transmitted to you. I have the honour to be, with most perfect esteem, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

ARCH. DAVIDSON.

Glasgow College,  
24th June 1788.

Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, Baronet.

## V.

## THE REV. JOHN LOGAN.

Among the preachers of the Church of Scotland, there was none more celebrated for talents or eloquence than the Rev. John Logan, minister of Leith. He was recommended by Dr Blair to be my private tutor; and when some of my friends remarked to the Doctor, that the young divine was rather uncouth in his appearance and behaviour, the Doctor answered, “ I thought it was not a dancing-master, *but a scholar*, that the friends of the young gentleman wished for.”

A volume of sermons published by Mr Logan were much admired; and in consequence of their merit, the celebrated Warren Hastings took an active interest in the sale. Dr Blair also recommended them; and his friends were thus enabled to raise money, sufficient not only to pay his debts and some legacies he had bequeathed, but also to distribute a small sum among his relations.

The following letter proves the anxious zeal he felt for the success of his former pupil :

DEAR SIR,

Mr Lothian, the minister of the Canongate, lies so dangerously ill, that he is not expected to live two days. Some of my friends, particularly Dr Smith and Dr Blair, have desired me to appear as a candidate for the succession. The presentation is in the gift of the Crown, and Lord North, as Secretary for the Northern Department, will have the disposal of it. Dr Blair suggested, that from your having property in the Canongate, there would be a propriety in your making application for it; and from your merit in Parliament, a probability of your obtaining so small a favour. If any application is to be made, necessity will require it to be done immediately.

I feel a reluctance to pursue a subject of this kind farther, and shall leave it entirely to your judgment and friendship.

I was sorry that my being in the country prevented me from having the pleasure of waiting on you, when you was down in Scotland. I hope in the next session of Parliament to mark your name frequently in the list of the speakers, and expect that you will excel your cotemporaries as much in speaking as you have done in writing. I am, Dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN LOGAN.

Leith, October 23. 1783.

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### 3.—AMERICAN CLERGY.

Two clergymen from America, who visited me at Edinburgh, gave me a very favourable impression of the clerical character in that country. The first was Bishop Hobart of New York, from whom I received the following communication :

DEAR SIR,

I had left Edinburgh the day before that on which you and Lady Sinclair honoured me with a note of invitation to dinner, and you favoured me with a letter and an accompanying pamphlet, and the valuable present of your “ Code of Health,” all which I found on my return to this place last evening. This explanation will account to you for my apparent neglect of your favours.

I had possessed myself of your “ Code of Agriculture,” which had been reprinted in the United States, and shall value highly the “ Code of Health,” which evidently contains a condensed summary of very important information on this subject. With respect to the proposed “ Code of Natural and Revealed Religion,” were I competent to suggest any

remarks worthy of your attention, the importance of the subject would require more time than I can command, as I resume my journey on Thursday next. But it occurs to me to suggest, what, doubtless, however, has received your consideration, whether there be such a system as *natural* religion, strictly so called, that is, a system of divine truth actually discovered by human reason. The fact, that there was at the *first*, a revelation of the being and attributes of God, which has been handed down and dispersed by written records, and by *tradition*, one would think, would decide this question in the negative. The arguments *a priori* and *a posteriori*, in proof of the being and attributes of God, so ably discussed by Clark and others in the sermons at Boyle's Lectures, serve to confirm the truths originally revealed; but it is questionable, whether men would have attained a knowledge of a Supreme Being, such as natural religion now presents, by any process of their intellectual powers, if this knowledge had not been originally revealed. On this point, there is much ingenious observation and reasoning in a treatise by an Irish writer, entitled, "The Knowledge of Divine and Spiritual Things from Revelation, not from Reason or Nature."

With many thanks to you for your kind attentions, and with my best compliments to Lady Sinclair and the family, I have the honour to be, very respectfully, your most obedient friend and servant,

J. H. HOBART.

Edinburgh, Tuesday evening,  
January 13.

The other letter was from the Rev. William M'Whir, minister of Sunbury, in Georgia, who seemed strongly impressed with the idea, that there is a great disposition among all the well-informed and respectable classes in both countries, to be cordially united. Ever since the independence of North America was acknowledged by the British Government, I have always promoted a cordial union between the

two countries, by every friendly attention in my power to every native of America who visited the mother country.

The following is one of the letters, with which Mr Macwhir favoured me, and which inculcates the same ideas :

Most Honourable, and much Honoured, and Dear Sir,

I blush to acknowledge my neglect, in not having long ago acknowledged the receipt of your very kind favour, communicated to me through the Minister of the U. S. of America. Your kind expressions of friendship, even had I been insensible of the honour done me by your correspondence, ought to have compelled me to write. But, Sir, although I have not written often, very often have I thought of yourself and amiable and hospitable family. Often have I spoken to my friends of that kind condescension with which you were pleased to take me by the hand, invite me to your hospitable home, and introduce me to your friends, when an entire stranger to you.

Since I last addressed you, I have laboured hard in my Master's service, and undergone many dangers and perils, by land and water, by night and day. The greater part of last summer I spent in Florida, which, although not situated in the torrid zone, is too near it to be very comfortable in summer. But neither ease, nor bodily comfort, were my objects in visiting that uncultivated and unchristianized region. A young Missionary, whom Providence cast in my way, who had spent some months in St Augustine, represented the deplorable state of the people, as to morals and religion, in such affecting terms, as to excite my compassion, and cause me to believe it to be my duty to encounter a long and perilous journey, under a burning sun, to "go over and help them." And this I did, I trust to divine acceptance. The people received me with open arms, and attended faithfully and thankfully to all my ministrations among them. I preached to them, and prayed for them, by night and by day, during my



stay. Three times every Lord's day did I preach or exhort; and every evening, during the week, had we public or private prayer meetings. If no appointment was made, families were sure to attend at my lodgings, at the hour in which prayer was wont to be made: And we have cause to believe, that our labour of love was not in vain in the Lord. Before I left St Augustine, by divine aid, I was made the humble instrument of constituting the first presbyterian church ever established in Florida; and there is cause to believe that it is owned and blessed by the great Head of the church. They have got a pastor, and have raised almost 4000 dollars to build a church. I know this little narrative will delight Sir John and his pious family; and perhaps not the less, because one whom they had honoured with their friendship bore a part in it.

This country is in a most flourishing and prosperous state. Religion, arts and sciences, agriculture and commerce, are all marching on, hand in hand, to a greater degree of perfection. Canalling and road-making are all the rage. The State of New York, it is said, has made more canals in the last few years, than any other nation has made during its whole existence,

I know, Sir, your benevolent heart is delighted to see that kind feeling which exists at present betwixt the United States of America and the united kingdom of Great Britain. Mr Canning speaks in high terms of America and Americans, and so do Americans of him. Several English gentlemen who have lately travelled through this country do the same; and I trust these two great nations, already united to each other by consanguinity, language, interest, and above all by the religious principles they profess, will continue to live in the unity of the Spirit, and the bond of peace, as long as they shall exist as nations.

I was much influenced by your counsel respecting my people, and the project of accompanying them to Siberia, and

have now entirely laid it aside, and have made up my mind, God willing, to visit my native land, in the course of next summer. If I do, shall try to be present at the sitting of the General Assembly in Edinburgh, and certainly shall not deny myself the pleasure and honour of visiting yourself and very amiable family. Please to present my most respectful compliments to Lady Sinclair, and the other members of your household, to whom I had the pleasure of being introduced.

May I hope to have the honour of hearing from you soon? I know I do not deserve it; but be assured I earnestly desire and solicitously request it. And if I can in any way serve you, Sir, in this country, command me; I shall do it with pleasure. With every sentiment of respect, I am, Honoured and Dear Sir, your obedient humble servant,

WM. M'WHIR.

Sunbury, Georgia, North America,  
June 10. 1825.

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#### 4.—FRENCH CLERGY.

##### I.

##### THE ABBÉ GREGOIRE, BISHOP OF BLOIS.

In this country we can hardly form an idea, of the ardour and vivacity with which the natives of a warmer climate, prosecute any subject of new inquiry to which their attention may be directed. Of this I had frequent instances in France; but none more remarkable than that of the Abbé Gregoire, of whose good feeling and ability, the following communication affords an interesting specimen:

Paris, 30. Janvier 1815.

CHER ET SAVANT SINCLAIR,

Je me felicite des circonstances, qui, en vous amenant à

Paris, m'ont procuré le plaisir de connoître personnellement un homme que depuis longtems j'avois appris à estimer et à aimer d'après ses écrits, et la reputation honorable dont il jouit.

J'acquitte ma promesse en vous envoyant mon traité sur la Domesticité. D'après un calcul approximatif, je value à un million le nombre des domestiques en France, qui sont attachés au service personnel, et non compris les domestiques attachés au travail rural. Mon desir étoit d'améliorer les mœurs et la condition de cette classe de la société. Les Anglois nous ont montré l'exemple à cet egard, et ici j'ai la douleur de n'avoir pu réunir seulement dix personnes pour s'occuper de cet objet. Il y a un demi-siècle que Chamousser fit dans le même genre des tentatives infructueuses. Ce philanthrope, qui n'a vécu que pour faire du bien, fut outragé, calomnié, persecuté. Je vois qu'il faut se resigner aux mêmes disgraces. Ici bas souvent le crime est triomphant, et rarement la vertu est *impunée*. Heureusement la religion trouve l'avenir, pour montrer une region nouvelle, où regne l'éternelle justice.

Je ferai rechercher en Lorraine l'opuscule fort rare de Baggard sur la Longevité. J'espère être plus libre sous quinze jours, et m'occuper du plan dont nous avons parlé. Je vous enverrai mon travail.

Religion, liberté, vertu, science, amitié,—ces mots renferment tout ce qui peut interesser l'esprit et le cœur, et c'est dans les sentimens qu'ils m'inspirent que je vous embrasse cordialement.

GREGOIRE \*,  
Ancien Evêque de Blois, &c.

• Translation.

Paris, 30th January 1834.

MY DEAR AND LEARNED SINCLAIR,

I congratulate myself on the circumstances which, by bringing you to Paris, have given me the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with a man whom I had long ago learned to esteem and love, on account of his writings, and the honourable reputation he enjoys.

I now fulfil the promise I made to send you my Treatise on Domestic Servants. According to the nearest calculation I can make, I estimate at one mil-

The following anecdote of the worthy Abbé will interest the reader :

During the short peace between France and England, the Abbé Gregoire came over to this country, where he made a tour through England ; and, from his amiable character and excellent qualities, obtained a cordial reception in the best societies. On his return to Paris, an American gentleman asked him how he liked England. He replied, “ The people were a generous, hospitable, good people, and it would be a charming country, had it pleased God to give them *more sunshine* and *French cooks*.” The country, he said, “ was always enveloped in clouds ; and he was almost starved, having nothing to eat but abominable legs of mutton, roast beef, beef-steaks, cabbages and potatoes, none of which were half cooked. The porter was bitter, and the port wine was so strong that he could not drink it.” In fact, the good Abbé preferred France, and being of a humane disposition, seemed to lament the many inconveniencies under which, as he conceived, the good people of England laboured.

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lion the number of domestics in France, who are engaged in personal service, exclusive of those employed in rural labour. My desire was to improve the manners and condition of this class of society. The English have shewn us the example in this respect ; but it is with grief I say that I have not been able to unite more than ten persons to aid in bringing about my object. It is half a century since Chamousser made fruitless attempts of a similar kind. This philanthropist, who lived only to do good, was attacked, calumniated, persecuted. I perceive that I must prepare myself for the same treatment. Here below vice is often triumphant, and virtue rarely goes *unpunished*. Happily religion anticipates the future, to point out to us a new abode where eternal justice reigns.

I shall try to procure in Lorraine the very rare little work of Bagard on Longevity. I hope to be more at leisure in about fifteen days, and I shall then set about the plan of which we talked. I shall send you the fruits of my labours.

Religion, liberty, virtue, science, friendship,—these words comprehend all that can interest either the head or the heart ; and it is with all the sentiments which they inspire that I cordially embrace you.

GREGOIRE,  
Late Bishop of Blois, &c.

## II.

## THE BISHOP OF RODEZ,

With an Account of the Birth, Education, and original Progress of Robespierre.

The Bishop of Rodez was of Scotch extraction, his name being Cuthbert; and he had several relations who resided in the town and neighbourhood of Inverness. In the year 1797, he visited Scotland; and I had much pleasure in shewing him every attention in my power. He happened accidentally to inform me, that the Bishop of Arras was then in Edinburgh, and that he was particularly well acquainted with the early history of Robespierre. Being anxious to collect information respecting a revolutionary leader, who had been guilty of such atrocities, I requested my friend the Bishop of Rodez, to apply to the Bishop of Arras for any particulars he could recollect regarding him. The result was the following communication, which contains some interesting facts not hitherto, I believe, known to the public; and at the same time clearly illustrative of the danger of giving way to popular tumults, the result of which may be, subjection to the tyranny of the fiercest and most sanguinary ruffians whom the convulsion may produce.

Edin. le 3. de Mai 1797.

J'ai vû, à plusieurs reprises, M. l'Evêque d'Arras, Monsieur le Chevalier, et ce Prélat m'a dit ce qu'il a pû se rappeler de l'histoire du monstre *Robespierre*; mais pour de plus amples details, il m'a renvoié à l'ouvrage de *Monsieur l'Abbé Proyard*, (*Histoire de Robertspierre*, par, &c. chez *De Boffe, Gerard Street, London*), dans lequel tout ce qui regarde ce fameux revolutionnaire est rapporté avec assez d'exactitude. L'Abbé Proyard étoit Grand Vicaire d'Arras, et l'Evêque m'a fait l'éloge de l'homme, et de la verité qui regne dans son ouvrage. Si vous ne trouvez pas ce livre chez *De Boffe*, vous

pouvez vous adresser pour l'avoir au *No. 107. Wardour Street, Soho*. Deux ecclésiastiques François fournissent là la lecture de tout ce qui a été publié sur la révolution Française ; je ne me rappelle pas leurs noms. Il paroît, d'après ce que m'a dit M. l'Evêque d'Arras, que *Robespierre* étoit fils aîné de M. Robespierre, avocat, natif d'un village près d'Arras. Il étoit très jeune lorsqu'il perdit ce parent, lequel laissa une veuve avec trois enfans, viz. deux garçons et une fille, depourvûs de fortune, et réduits même à la plus grande pauvreté. Robespierre père étoit un homme assez aimable, mais mordant dans ses discours et dans les plaidoyers qu'il publioit pour ses cliens. Il aimoit la depense, et ce gout l'empêcha de pouvoir amasser des ressources pour sa famille, que sa mort inattendue et prématurée mettoit dans la plus pénible situation. M. l'Evêque d'Arras venoit de former dans sa ville episcopale un établissement pour l'education gratuite d'un certain nombre de jeunes enfans pauvres, qui paroissoient desirer d'embrasser l'état ecclésiastique. On lui parla des deux orphelins *Robespierre*, et il les reçut dans son petit seminaire, fournît à leur entretien, et à leur education, ainsi qu'au soulagement du reste de cette famille pauvre. L'aîné Robespierre commença avec succès à paroître parmi ses condisciples ; et au bout de quelque tems il fut envoyé, par les soins et aux frais du Prelat, au collège de *Louis le Grand* à Paris, pour y compléter ses études. Le jeune élève continua d'y avoir des succès, remportoit des prix aux distributions qu'on en faisoit chaque année ; mais on remarqua des lors en lui ce caractere factieux qui devoit un jour devenir si funeste à sa patrie. Ces dispositions étoient bien contraires à celles qui devoient lui ouvrir la porte du sanctuaire, aussi Robespierre ne tarda-t-il pas à témoigner son éloignement pour l'état ecclésiastique. La bonté de l'Evêque n'en continua pas moins d'être sa ressource, et de fournir aux frais de son cours dans l'étude du droit, et à ceux qui étoient nécessaires pour le faire recevoir avocat. Admis au bareau, il s'en retourna dans sa patrie pour y exercer sa profession. Dans le commencement de cette carrière, il developpa son

mauvais naturel ; et se trouvant engagé dans une cause qui intéressoit les états de la province, desquels M. l'Evêque d'Arras, son bienfaiteur, étoit Président, il s'emporta dans un diatribe amer contre ce corps respectable, et n'en épargna pas même le chef. Il crut cependant ne pouvoir pas publier ce plaidoyer, sans en faire part au Prélat. Celui-ci en fut également choqué et surpris ; mais méprisant les phrases indiscrettes d'un petit avocat forcené, il lui remit le manuscrit, en lui en disant sa façon de penser, et lui permit d'en faire l'usage qu'il jugeroit à propos. Le mémoire parut, et fit du bruit, mais beaucoup plus de tort à l'auteur qu'à ceux qu'il y attaquoit. Robespierre continua de se faire connoître, moins cependant par des talens distingués, que par un esprit factieux, un caractère intrigant, féroce et indomptable. Dans la ville et communauté d'Arras se trouvoit à cette époque un grand nombre de mauvais sujets, d'hommes avides de nouveautés, et de gens revoltés contre toute autorité. Robespierre étoit leur favori : ils parvinrent à le faire nommer l'un des députés du *Tiers Etat* de leur baillage aux Etats Generaux. Il étoit alors si pauvre, qu'il ne put se procurer l'argent nécessaire pour faire les frais de son voyage à Versailles, lieu indiqué pour la tenue des Etats Generaux. Il eut le front de recourir à la bourse de l'Evêque d'Arras, qu'il avoit cessé de voir et de cultiver, et celui-ci eut de nouveau la bonté et la facilité d'accueillir sa demande, et de lui fournir la somme dont il avoit besoin. Le scelerat sortit du cabinet du trop bon Prélat, ne le revit plus, et ne le remercia jamais de tous ses bienfaits. Il les auroit vraisemblablement païés de la guillotine, si, lors du regne du monstre, l'Evêque ne fût hors du royaume auprès des Princes emigrés. Voilà, Monsieur le Chevalier, en gros, ce que M. d'Arras m'a appris sur les commencemens de Robespierre, en m'indiquant l'ouvrage où vous trouverez un narré plus détaillé des circonstances qui ont trait à ce monstre. *M. Montjoie* a aussi écrit l'histoire de *Maximilien Robespierre*, et de sa conjuration ; mais je pense que vous trouverez plus d'instruction

à ce sujet, et plus d'exactitude, dans l'ouvrage de l'*Abbé Proyard*.

Je vous rend bien des graces, Monsieur, de l'imprimé que vous m'avez fait passer, lequel contient vos pensées sur la guerre d'Italie. Quoiqu'il s'en faille bien que ses pensées s'accordent avec les miennes sur le même sujet, et quoique je distingue à peine le general de l'armée Française d'un cruel chef d'une horde de barbares, ou d'une troupe de brigands, repandue en Italie et en Allemagne pour y porter le ravage, la ruine et la desolation ; quoique je sois bien convaincu que les nouvelles republicues Cispadanes et Transpadanes sont aussi éloignées de la vraie liberté qu'elles sont voisines ou de l'anarchie ou de la tyrannie ; quoique je pense que le changement adopté par ces nouveaux republicains soit les fruits empoisonnés du Jacobinisme, de l'atheisme, et de la desorganisation Gallicane, et qu'ils ne dureront qu'autant que ces malheureuses contrées seront desolées par la presence de cette armée de bandits, et qu'un echec éprouvé par elle seroit le signal de leur retour à l'ancien ordre ; je rends néanmoins justice à la valeur de ces mêmes brigands, à l'activité et aux talens militaires de leurs chefs, et particulièrement de Buonaparté. Mais je ne prononcerai sur leur prudence, qu'après que j'aurai vû qu'elle sera l'issue definitive de la campagne actuelle. Si elle est heureuse pour Buonaparte et les François, je regarderai leurs nouveaux triomphes comme de nouveaux malheurs pour l'Europe et pour l'humanité. Si, comme j'aime à l'esperer et à le croire, ils éprouvent le même sort qu'essuyrent l'année dernière Jourdan et Moreau, je ne pouvais m'empêcher de regarder Buonaparté comme un *fol*, même comme un *sot*, qui s'est laissé prendre aux pièges de son ennemi, et accabler par ceux qu'il a d'abord mépriser, et dont il a *bêtement* crû pouvoir faire une conquête facile, au milieu d'un des pais les plus difficiles et les plus dangereux. Les evenemens feront voir lequel de vous ou de moi auront envisagé ce general, son armée, ses succès et ses republicues sous le plus veritable point de vue. Recevez, Monsieur le



Chevalier, l'hommage du sincère et respectueux attachement avec lequel je suis votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

S. EV. DE RODEZ \*.

\* Translation.

Edinburgh, 3d May 1797.

SIR,

I have several times had an opportunity of conversing with the Bishop of Arras, and that Prelate has told me all that he could recall of the history of the monster Robespierre; but for more complete details he has referred me to the work of the Abbé Proyard, (*History of Robespierre, published by De Boffe, Gerard Street, London*), in which all that regards this notorious revolutionist is related with sufficient accuracy. The Abbé Proyard was Grand Vicar of Arras, and the Bishop spoke highly to me, both of the man, and the truth which pervades his work. If you cannot procure this book from De Boffe, you may apply for it at 107. Wardour Street, Soho. Two French ecclesiastics keep there a circulating library of all that has been published on the French Revolution: I cannot recollect their names. It would appear from what the Bishop of Arras told me, that

Robespierre was the eldest son of M. Robespierre, an advocate, native of a village near Arras. He was very young when he lost his father, who left a widow with three children, two sons and one daughter, not only without fortune, but reduced to the greatest poverty. Robespierre's father was a man amiable enough; but satirical in his conversation, and in the pleadings which he published for his clients. He was also expensive in his habits, and was thus prevented from laying up any fortune for his family, whom his sudden and premature death placed in the most distressing situation. The Bishop of Arras happened to form, in his episcopal town, an establishment for the gratuitous education of a certain number of poor children, who might appear desirous of embracing the ecclesiastical profession. He was told of the two orphan sons of the late M. Robespierre, and he received them into his little seminary, adapted as it was for their improvement and instruction, besides affording consolation to the rest of this poor family. The elder Robespierre began with success his career among his schoolfellows; and, at the end of some time, he was sent by the care, and at the expense of the Prelate, to the College of Louis the Great at Paris, there to complete his studies. The young man was here no less successful, and carried off several prizes at the annual competitions. But it was already remarked, that his character was of that factious kind which afterwards turned out so fatal to his country. His dispositions were very different from those most likely to open for him the doors of the Church, and it was not long before he intimated his disrelish for ecclesiastical pursuits. The goodness of the Bishop, nevertheless, did not fail him, and through the kindness of his patron he was furnished with the means of studying law, and defraying all the expenses attendant on his passing advocate. Admitted to the bar, he returned to his own country, to practise his profession. At the very outset of his career he betrayed his evil disposition; for, being engaged in a cause which affected the States of the Province, of which the Bishop of

Arras, his benefactor, was President, he pronounced a bitter philippic against this respectable body, and did not even spare its President. He thought, however, that he could not publish this pleading before submitting it to the Prelate, who was equally shocked and surprised at its tone; but, despising the indiscreet expressions of a young hot lawyer, he sent him back the manuscript, telling him what he thought of it, and permitting him to make what use of it he deemed proper. The memorial appeared, and made some noise, but did more harm to the author than to those whom he attacked. Robespierre continued to keep himself before the public, less, however, by any distinguished talents, than by a factious spirit, and a character remarkable for intrigue, ferocity, and obstinacy. In the town and community of Arras there were at this time a great number of bad subjects,—men desirous of change, and unwilling to submit to any constituted authority. Robespierre was their favourite, and they agreed to send him as one of their deputies to the States General. He was then so poor that he could not get money sufficient to defray the expense of his journey to Versailles, where the States General were to be held. In this emergency he had the audacity to apply once more to his old friend, the Bishop of Arras, whom he had ceased to visit or acknowledge; and the Bishop had again the goodness and the weakness to comply with his demand, and to furnish him with the sum which he required. The wretch left the chamber of the too good Prelate, never saw him more, and never thanked him for all his kindness. He would probably have paid for it on the guillotine, had not the Bishop, during the reign of the monster, been out of the kingdom along with the emigrant Princes.

Such, Sir, is the substance of all I learned from M. d'Arras, concerning the early history of Robespierre, at the same time that he pointed out to me the work, where you will find a more detailed account of the circumstances which have reference to this monster. M. Montjoie has also written the History of Maximilian Robespierre, and of his conspiracy; but I believe you will find more information on this subject, and more accuracy, in the work of the Abbé Proyard.

I return you many thanks, Sir, for the pamphlet which you have sent me, containing your thoughts upon the war in Italy. Although it is certain that these sentiments agree with my own on the same subject, and although I discover with difficulty the general of a French army in a cruel chief of a horde of barbarians, or of a troop of brigands, spread over Italy and Germany, to carry thither ravage, ruin, and desolation; although I am fully convinced that the new republics, both on this and the other side of the Po, are as far removed from true liberty as they are bordering either on anarchy or tyranny; although I believe that the changes adopted by these new republicans are the poisoned fruits of Jacobinism, of Atheism, and of Gallican Disorganization, and that they will continue in force only as long as these unhappy countries are desolated by the presence of this army of bandits, and that a check given to it will be the signal of their return to ancient order; I nevertheless render justice to the valour of these very brigands, to the activity and military talents of their leaders, and particularly of Buonaparte; but I shall not speak of their *prudence*, until I have seen the definitive issue of the present campaign. If it ends fortunately for Buonaparte and the French, I shall regard their new triumphs as new misfortunes for Europe and humanity. If, as I love to hope and believe, they experience the

same fate which last year attended Jourdan and Moreau, I shall certainly look upon Buonaparte as a *fool*,—a very *fool*,—who allowed himself to be caught in the snares of his enemy, and to be put down by those whom he formerly despised, and over whom he madly thought to gain an easy conquest in the centre of one of the most difficult and dangerous countries in Europe. The result will shew whether you or I have looked upon this General, his army, his successes, and his republics, in the true point of view.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of the sincere and respectful attachment with which I remain your very humble and very obedient servant,

S. BISHOP OF RODEZ.

## **PART VII.**

### **AGRICULTURAL CORRESPONDENCE.**



## AGRICULTURAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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THE correspondence I carried on, respecting the various topics connected with agriculture, would fill many volumes. Its substance will be found in the several works I published on that subject, more especially, 1. In the Account of the Husbandry of Scotland; 2. In the General Report of the Agricultural State of Scotland; And, 3. In the Code of Agriculture.

### 1. ACCOUNT OF THE HUSBANDRY OF SCOTLAND.

This work was undertaken in the year 1809, at the particular request of Sir Joseph Banks, who urged, in a letter dated September 3. 1809, "That an account of the systems of husbandry adopted in the more improved districts in Scotland, would be of the greatest advantage to the agricultural interests of the united kingdom; and that it was incumbent upon a native of Scotland, while presiding at the Board of Agriculture, and possessing all the means of information which that situation afforded, to undertake the task." To other respectable friends to agriculture, the same idea had occurred.

Many objections had presented themselves to the engaging in such an attempt: 1. The labour was likely to be very great; 2. It might be difficult to procure the necessary information; and, 3. It would furnish snarling critics with a favourable op-

portunity of attacking, not only the President of the Board of Agriculture, but the institution itself, as promulgating doctrines, which, if acted upon by the farmers of the country, would be ruinous to them. But every obstacle to the undertaking of the proposed task vanished, when Sir Joseph urged, "that agriculture has derived, is deriving, and will derive more benefit, from Scotch industry and skill, than has been accumulated, since the days when Adam first wielded the spade\*."

In drawing up this work, it seemed to me necessary, not only to visit the districts in Scotland the most celebrated for cultivation, but also to circulate a number of queries among the most intelligent farmers;—to compare their answers, so as to form them into a regular system;—and to print and circulate the results, for the remarks of some intelligent friends, before the work was published.

Mr Arthur Young, to whom I had transmitted copies of the original sketches I drew up, sent me the following remarks upon them:

"Mr Young has read the papers on the husbandry of Scotland with attention; and he waits, with great impatience, to see a work complete, *which will form a new era in agricultural knowledge*. He sincerely hopes that Sir John Sinclair will be blessed with health, strength, and spirits, to perfect so great an undertaking.

"Bradfield Hall, September 4. 1810."

In March 1812, the whole was completed; and I had the pleasure of sending a copy of the work to Sir Joseph Banks, accompanied with the following letter:

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\* Sir Joseph thus justified that assertion. "The Scots," (he said) "are a nation of gardeners, which accounts for their success in agriculture; for horticulture always precedes agriculture in the amount of its produce. In Scotland, agriculture treads on the heels of horticulture; and, by raising double produce, the Scots are enabled to pay double rents."

“ MY DEAR SIR JOSEPH,

“ I have at last the pleasure of sending you a complete copy of the work, undertaken at your desire, on the Husbandry of Scotland. Whether you will have any grounds to regret having made the request, from defects in the execution of the plan, or I to lament complying with your wishes, in consequence of the peltings which I shall receive, as a matter of course, from the critics who may be induced to rail at it, will, in process of time, appear. At all events, I shall have one satisfaction, that it may be the means of handing down our names to posterity together, as zealous friends to the improvement, and agricultural prosperity of the country,” &c.

Sir Joseph's Answer, dated Soho Square, March 11. 1812, was as follows :

“ On my return from Lincolnshire this morning, I found your favour, and am thankful for it in all ways. I thank you for having allowed my little bark to sail in company with your vessel down the stream of time. I have no fear of criticism on your book. It contains a mass of valuable information, sufficient to resist all the attacks which envy and malice can aim at it.”

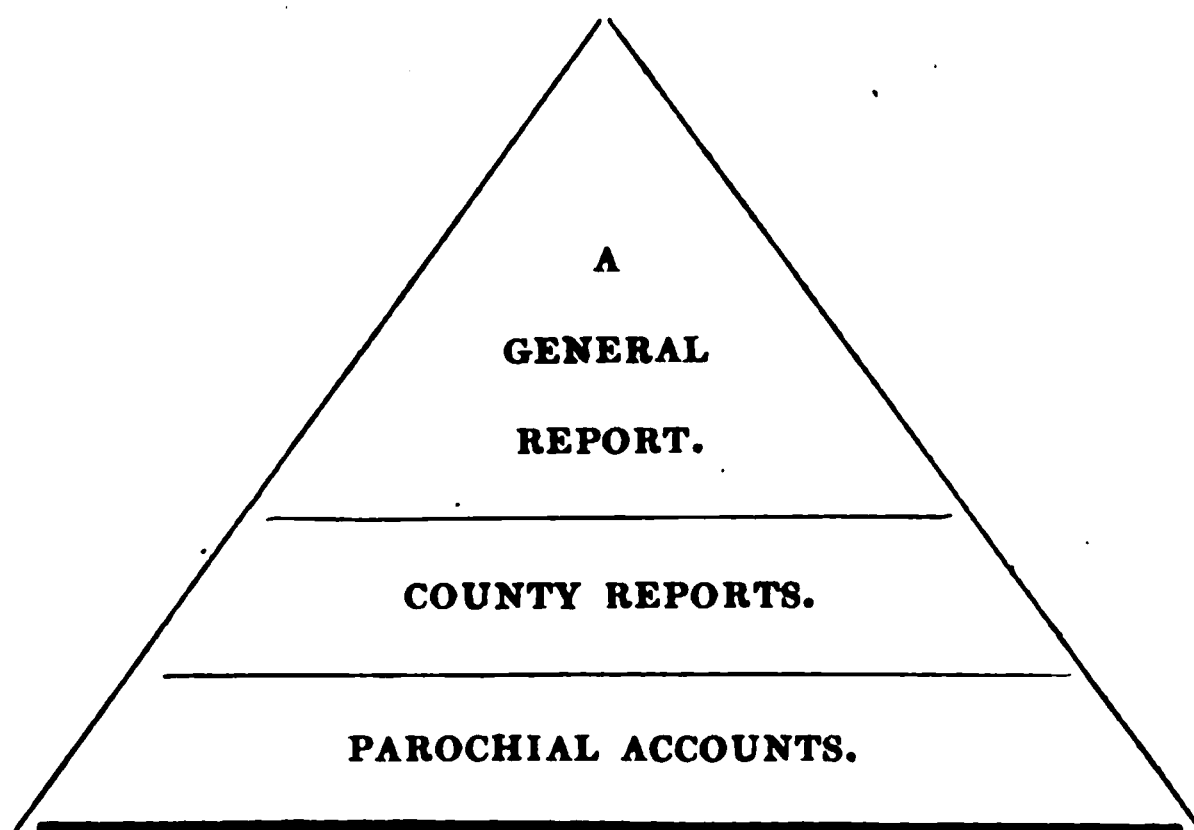
## 2. GENERAL REPORT OF SCOTLAND.

It is a favourite principle with me, “ *That extensive inquiries should be made the basis of condensed information ;*” and it has been fortunately in my power to prove the practicability of carrying this principle into effect. I had published accounts of every “ *Parish*” in Scotland, from returns transmitted to me by the resident clergymen ;—with the aid of the Board of Agriculture, regular reports had been published of the agricultural and political state of every “ *County*” in it ; and to complete the system, nothing now remained, but to publish a “ *General Report*” of the state of the whole kingdom. For this purpose, a number of able men were selected, to each of



whom a chapter or section of the General Report was assigned, and from the materials with which he was thus furnished, he was directed to draw up the result of all the previous inquiries.

The whole system may be compared to a pyramid, an idea of which may be obtained from the following outline :



In drawing up a General Report, condensation is the great object to be kept in view. Every sentence should contain the essence of a paragraph ;—every paragraph of a section ;—every section of a chapter,—and every chapter of a volume. Such works ought to be completed at the public expense; for though, with much difficulty, and by great perseverance, it was carried through in Scotland, in a great measure by an individual, yet it was effected by exertions for which few have sufficient strength or perseverance. It would appear, indeed, by a communication from Mr Say, dated 1st January 1821, that the aid of even a despotic government could not always accomplish the object; for he mentions that Buonaparte, with all his power, could never obtain from his “*Préfets*” and “*Sous Préfets*,” those reports, which he frequently demanded from them, with regard to the statistics of France.

## 3. CODE OF AGRICULTURE.

Having thus laid an ample foundation, I at last resolved to undertake a work of still greater importance, namely, a Code of Agriculture. My object was, to condense into one volume the leading principles and facts of a science, on which so many hundred volumes had been previously published.

The work was received with much applause by the agriculturists of England and Scotland. It has already run through three editions, and a fourth is now in preparation. It was reprinted in America, (where its publication excited a great spirit of improvement); and it was translated into several foreign languages, in particular the French, the German, and the Danish. Foreigners, indeed, expressed their opinion of its merits in the strongest terms, designating its author as “*le Premier Agronome de l’Europe* \*;—*le Patriarche de l’Agriculture Angloise* †;—*le Grand Prêtre de Ceres* ‡;—*et le Heros de l’Economie Rurale* §.”

From the great improvements which had taken place in this country, a number of foreigners had come over to avail themselves of the information which had been thus accumulated, and many of them visited Scotland, knowing that its system of agriculture was peculiarly calculated for adoption in foreign countries, from the economy with which it was conducted. I remember, in particular, an application from a Livonian nobleman, who, in a letter to me, dated 20th July 1828, applied for information regarding the best plan for carrying on the improvement of his estates, in the following terms: “*La reputation donc vous jouissez, et d’après laquelle vous passez pour être ami et protecteur des étrangers qui viennent visiter l’Ecosse, pour s’instruire dans l’agriculture, m’encourage*

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\* Letter from M. Mathew Dombasle, 7th November 1821.

† Letter from the Dijon Academy, 10th May 1818.

‡ Letter from M. Meen, a great proprietor of land in Flanders.

§ Letter from the Abbé Pierrard, containing the substance of a communication from General d’Armfelt, requesting information regarding the means of improving his estates in Finland.

à vous adresser, en vous priant de me seconder dans mes efforts, mes recherches, et projets.”

It would be tedious to insert the numerous letters in which my works on agriculture have been favourably spoken of. I shall restrict myself to communications from the following distinguished characters : 1. The Marquis de la Fayette ; 2. M. Mathieu de Dombasle ; 3. Baron Voght of Hamburgh ; 4. Robert Patterson of America ; 5. Mr Featherstonhaugh of New York ; and, 6. General Washington.

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I.

THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

There are few characters in modern times, who will be held in higher estimation than the Marquis de la Fayette. His conduct in private life is most exemplary ; and in public affairs, he always adopted that line of conduct which seemed to him the most likely to promote rational liberty : I am happy in this opportunity of laying before the reader a most friendly letter addressed to me, which proves his ardent zeal in the pursuits of agriculture.

Paris, 20. Janvier 1819.

MONSIEUR,

La lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire a été longtems à me parvenir. Le zele que j'ai mis à remplir vos intentions, quoique jusqu'à present sans succès, a retardé de jour en jour ma réponse. Elle vous sera présentée par mon ami M. Ficknor, citoyen des Etats Unis, à qui je me fait un plaisir de procurer cette occasion de vous rendre ses devoirs. Il sent comme moi tout le prix d'une introduction auprès de Sir John Sinclair.

L'avantage de renouveler mon ancienne connaissance avec vous, Monsieur ; celui d'être honoré de votre confiance sur

un objet cher à nous deux, mais où je ne puis être qu'à une grande distance de vous ; et la bonté que vous avez eu de m'envoyer votre important et si instructif ouvrage, sont des circonstances flatteuses pour moi, et dont j'ai été sensiblement touché. Il serait injuste d'attribuer à un ton de negligence, dont je suis bien loin à votre égard, les delais, d'abord involontaires, et ensuite bien intentionnés, qui ont eu lieu. Agréez ici l'hommage de mon admiration pour le livre, et de ma reconnaissance pour l'auteur.

J'ai reçu dernièrement une lettre de M. Jefferson, qui vient d'échapper à une longue et dangereuse maladie. Son esprit et son cœur ont conservé toutes leurs nobles, étendues, et aimables facultés ; mais sa santé se ressent des progrès de l'âge. M. Ficknor, que j'ai l'honneur de vous présenter, au nom de M. Jefferson comme au mien, est aussi un de ses amis particuliers.

Penetré comme je le suis de l'utilité de votre ouvrage, par le profit que j'avais tiré moi-meme, je desire vivement en faire jouir mes compatriotes. Parmi les personnes en état de me conseiller et de m'aider pour cet objet, je vous citerai MM. Gallois et Charles Lasteyrie, dont les noms vous sont connus. Le dernier est fort lié avec M. Lafont Ladebat, qui s'est occupé avec beaucoup d'interêt de faire traduire dans notre langue des productions scientifiques de votre país. Le triste resultat de mes consultations auprès d'hommes plus en état que moi de juger, parcequ'ils sont plus versés dans les affaires de librairie, a été, que dans ce moment, où tout le monde est occupé de discussions et d'institutions politiques, on ne trouverait personne qui se chargeat de l'entreprise. J'observerais que les amis auxquels je me suis adressé sont tout admirateurs de l'ouvrage, et convaincus de son utilité. Il nous serait facile de trouver un traducteur ; mais le libraire, chargé de le dedomager des ses trauvaux, et de faire imprimer la traduction, craindrait à present de se livrer à une speculation étranger au cours actuel des idées. Cette difficulté ne peut pas durer longtems. La France, qui depuis que vous

l'avez connue en 1789, n'a pas cessé, à travers tant de vicissitudes, de resistances, d'excès, et de malveillance exterieur, de vouloir ce qu'elle voulait alors, finira, j'espère, par obtenir la jouissance réelle de les droits qui assureront son repos, et le libre developement de son industrie. C'est alors qu'elle sentira tout le prix des leçons qu'on trouve à chaque page de votre livre, et que sa traduction sera generalement recherchée.

Quant à moi, Monsieur, qui sans être un des moins interessés dans les objets politiques, n'en apprécié que mieux le merite de vos ecrits, et l'honneur de votre correspondance, je serai toujours heureux des occasions qui m'en feront jouir. Je continuerai à m'occuper de votre commission, et de toutes celles que vous jugerez à propos de me donner. C'est avec toute la deference d'un disciple, et tous les sentimens d'un admirateur, que je vous prie d'agréer l'expression de ma haute consideration et de mon sincère attachement.

LA FAYETTE \*.

\* Translation.

Paris, January 20. 1819.

SIR,

The letter you did me the honour to write to me has been a long time in reaching me. The zeal with which I have endeavoured to fulfil your intentions, although hitherto without success, has retarded my reply from day to day. It will now be presented to you by my friend Monsieur Picknor, citizen of the United States, for whom I am glad to procure the present opportunity of paying his respects to you. He feels as I do the full value of an introduction to Sir John Sinclair.

The advantage of renewing my old acquaintance with you, Sir ; that of being honoured with your confidence upon a subject dear to us both, but in which I must be far behind you ; and the kindness which you have shewn in sending me your very important and instructive work, are very flattering circumstances for me, and of which I am truly sensible. It would be unjust to ascribe to a feeling of neglect, from which I am so exempt with regard to you, the involuntary, and afterwards well-intended delays which have occurred. Accept the homage of my admiration for the book, (The Code of Agriculture,) and of my gratitude to the Author.

I received lately a letter from Mr Jefferson, who has just recovered from a long and dangerous illness. His mind and heart have preserved all their noble, extensive and amiable faculties ; but his health is affected by advancing age.

## II.

M. MATHIEU DE DOMBASLE,

President of the Agricultural Society of Nancy.

Among the agriculturists of France, Monsieur de Dombasle stands pre-eminent, both for zeal and knowledge. It was impossible, therefore, to be more highly gratified than by the determination of so distinguished a character to translate

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Monsieur Ficknor, whom I have the honour of presenting to you in Mr Jefferson's name and my own, is also one of his particular friends.

Convinced as I am of the utility of your work, by the benefit which I have derived from it myself, I desire much to enable my countrymen to profit by it likewise. Among the persons in a situation to advise and assist me in this object, I may mention to you MM. Gallois and Charles Lasteyrie, whose names are known to you. The latter is very intimate with Monsieur Lafont Ladebat, who has occupied himself very much in getting translated into our language the scientific productions of your country. The discouraging result of my consultation among men better calculated than myself for judging, because more versed than myself in bookselling transactions, has been, that at this time, when every one is occupied with political discussions and institutions, no one would be found to embark in such an undertaking.

At the same time the friends to whom I addressed myself are enchanted with the book, and convinced of its usefulness. It would be easy for us to find a translator; but the bookseller, being liable to the expense of remunerating him for his trouble, and also to that of printing the translation, would fear at present to undertake such a speculation foreign to the existing current of ideas. This difficulty cannot last long. France, which, since you knew it in 1789, has not ceased, amidst so many vicissitudes, struggles, excesses, and foreign ill-will, to desire what she then desired, will finish, I hope, by obtaining the real enjoyment of her rights, which will assure her tranquillity, and the free development of her industry. It is then that she will feel the full value of the lessons which are to be found in every page of your book, and that the translation of it will be generally sought for.

As to myself, Sir, who, without being one of the least interested in political objects, only appreciate the more the merit of your writings, and the honour of your correspondence, I shall always be happy of any opportunity which affords me that pleasure. I shall continue to give my best attention to your commission, as well as to all others that you may judge proper to give me. It is with all the respect of a disciple, and all the sentiments of an admirer, that I beg you to accept the expression of my great respect and sincere attachment.

(Signed) LA FAYETTE.

The Code of Agriculture into French, an intention which he first communicated to me in the following letter :

*Le President de la Société Centrale d'Agriculture de Nancy,  
à Sir John Sinclair, Baronet, &c.*

Nancy, le 7 Novembre 1821.

MONSIEUR,

J'ai l'honneur de vous prevenir, que, dans sa seance du 3. de ce mois, la Société Centrale d'Agriculture de Nancy a inscrit votre nom sur la liste de ses correspondans étrangers. Le diplome vous en sera expédié sous peu. J'espère que vous voudrez bien ne pas refuser à un société naissante, l'illustration que votre nom doit lui procurer.

Je vous prie de me permettre, Monsieur, de vous témoigner ici toute la satisfaction que je prouve d'un choix aussi honorable pour la société, et de vous dire aussi combien je suis flatté personnellement de l'espece de confraternité qu'il me donne avec un homme que je considère comme le premier agronome de l'Europe.

Depuis quelque tems je m'occupe, Monsieur, de traduire en Français votre excellentissime *Code d'Agriculture*. Si quelque chose peut contribuer à élever en France l'agriculture au rang de *Science*, pretention que nous ne pouvons avoir jusqu'ici, ce sera sans doute la publication de cet ouvrage, le plus dogmatique, le plus concise, et, à mon avis, le plus parfait, qui ait encore été écrit dans quelque langue que ce soit.

Dans le cours de ce travail, qui est déjà assez avancé, je me suis aperçu plus d'une fois, qu'il me manquerait quelques renseignemens necessaires. Si vous aviez l'extrême obligeance de me permettre de m'adresser à vous pour les obtenir, ce serait pour moi un motif de reconnaissance que je saurait bien apprécier, et que devraient partager avec moi tous les agriculteurs Français qui sauront mettre à profit vos utiles leçons.

J'ai rencontré jusqu'ici quelques mots, dont je ne connais pas bien la signification ; par exemple, je ne sais pas qu'il est

l'insecte appelé *wire-worm*. Je n'ai pu le reconnaître, même approximativement, parcequ'il n'exerce pas chez nous ses ravages dans les blés semés sur le trèfle rompu, comme c'est le cas en Angleterre. Je ne sais pas non plus qu'elle est la plante appelée *rib-grass*, dont je n'ai pas vu jusqu'ici que vous ayez indiqué le nom botanique. Peut-être, au reste, cela m'a-t-il échappé à la lecture de l'ouvrage, et le retrouverai-je dans la suite de la traduction.

Ce travail, auquel, malgré son importance, je ne puis donner que peu de tems chaque jour, exigera encore, je pense, trois ou quatre mois, et j'espère qu'il sera publié aussitôt après.

Je vous prie d'agréer l'expression des sentimens respectueux, avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

MATHIEU DE DOMBASLE *ainé* \*.

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\* Translation.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that on the 3d of this month, the Central Society of Agriculture of Nancy has inscribed your name on the list of its foreign correspondents. The diploma shall be transmitted to you without delay. I hope that you will not refuse to an infant society the lustre which your name will confer upon it.

I beg that you will permit me to express all the satisfaction which I experience in a choice so honourable to the society ; and to add how much I am personally flattered by the sort of brotherhood which it gives me with the person whom I consider to be the first agriculturist in Europe.

I have been occupied, Sir, for some time, in translating your very excellent "*Code of Agriculture*." If any thing can contribute to raise agriculture in France to the rank of a science, a rank which it could not hitherto pretend to, it will certainly be the publication of this work, which is at once the most systematic, the most concise, and, in my opinion, the most perfect, that has hitherto been written in any language.

In the course of my undertaking, which is already well advanced, I have perceived more than once, that I require information respecting some particulars. If you would have the extreme kindness to permit me to apply to you for such information, it would be a motive for gratitude which I would well know how to value, and in which all the French agriculturists, who know how to appreciate your useful lessons, would participate with me.

I have already met with some words of which I do not well know the meaning ; for instance, I do not know what is the insect called *wire-worm*. I have not been able to ascertain it, not even approximately, as it does not extend its



In the following communication, M. Dombasle informed me that his task was happily completed :

MONSIEUR,

Enfin, après les retards les plus inconcevables, la traduction de votre *Code d'Agriculture* vient de paraître. Je me félicite vivement d'avoir pu faire jouir les agriculteurs Français de cet excellent ouvrage. Je charge M. Huzard de vous en faire tenir un exemplaire. Je vous prie, M. de vouloir bien l'accepter comme un hommage de mon respect et de mon admiration.

Veuillez agréer l'expression des sentimens de haute considération et de dévouement avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

M. MATHIEU DE DOMBASLE \*.

Noville, (par Nancy) le 2. Avril 1825.

À Sir John Sinclair, Bart. &c.

ravages with us to grain sown on clover, when ploughed up, as is the case in England. I do not know either what is the plant called *rib-grass*, of which I have not yet observed that you give the botanical name. Perhaps, indeed, it may have escaped me in reading the work, and I may find it out in the continuation of the translation.

This work, to which, notwithstanding its importance, I am only able to devote a short time every day, will still require three or four months ; but I hope it will be published in that time.

I beg that you will accept the expression of the respectful sentiments, with which I have the honour to be, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

MATHIEU DE DOMBASLE aîné.

\* Translation.

SIR,

After the most inconceivable delays, the translation of your Code of Agriculture is about to appear. I rejoice greatly in being the means of laying open this excellent work to French agriculturists. I have requested M. de Huzard to present you with a copy, and I request you to accept it as a tribute of my respect, and of my admiration. Pray accept the expression of the high esteem and respect, with which I have the honour to be, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

MATHIEU DE DOMBASLE.

Noville, (by Nancy),  
2d April 1825.

An account of the translation was given in a periodical publication, (*Bulletin des Sciences Agricoles et Economiques*), which closes with a very flattering compliment, both to the original author and the translator. “ Il serait à désirer qu’il parût souvent des ouvrages pareils, et qu’ils eussent pour auteurs des Sir John Sinclair, et pour traducteurs, des hommes comme M. Mathieu de Dombasle.”

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### III.

#### BARON VOGHT.

Since the death of the celebrated Thaer, Baron Voght of Hamburgh is justly considered at the head of German agriculture. He had spent some months at Edinburgh, when I had the pleasure of cultivating a friendly intercourse with him, and we have since occasionally corresponded. One of the first letters with which he favoured me, was the following :

Hamburgh, 16th February 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

I feel great pleasure in repeating to you, that I think myself peculiarly fortunate in having made your acquaintance during my stay in your country. It adds not a little to my satisfaction, that your kindness has laid me under obligation to a character, whom I so sincerely revere, and upon whom posterity will look with gratitude.

If ever agriculture, hardly yet an art, becomes a science ;—if useful practices, the slow achievements of age, have been explored and made universal ;—if your country comes to know its own strength, and the bloodless conquest it can still make *in its interior* ;—if more and more nations do unite in liberal communication of their discoveries, and vie with each other in applying them towards the comforts and the happiness of

the members of society ;—whenever these events take place, (and the period cannot be distant), not only your countrymen, but even distant nations will look upon *you*, as the founder of this new science, and the promoter of public happiness.

As yet, you have only begun your glorious career. Only one part of your avowed plans is begun upon. The pale of the surface only of your island has yet been attended to. The riches hidden in the bowels of your soil, those neglected on your shores, will, at a later period, be better known, and worked with becoming spirit.

I would gladly have acknowledged the liberality with which you did communicate to me the different *county reports*, by returning them with the humble tribute of my remarks ; but my stay in most of the counties has been so short, that my observations with regard to agriculture could have been but very superficial.

I have already expressed to you my desire of paying my debt another way. I wish to establish, in some part of Germany, an investigation like that you have occasioned all over England and Scotland. I hope, indeed, to succeed under some few governments, who will not think it high treason to lay before the public a picture of their interior. I shall, in all probability, begin with *Holstein*, the country where my estate lies, and which enjoys the mild government of a young Prince, desirous to do every thing in his power to promote the happiness of his subjects, and who is supported by a council, whose wisdom and philanthropy has shewn itself in most critical circumstances.

This small country would be interesting enough, as it contains at once the most barren and the richest soil in the Continent ; some spots where Flemish and Dutch colonies, since a century past, have worked the soil with industry, capital, and excellent principles which they brought along with them, and something like a free constitution, which their descendants still enjoy. Next to those happy spots, all the horrors of feudal government exist in its full force. The estates are

unoccupied, and yield but little. Population is in proportion. In those tracts, 1s. 4d. and 5s. 6d. an acre, *for inclosed land fit for wheat*, is thought an exorbitant rent:—the gross produce, *on an average*, never amounts to 20s.;—and estates of 7000 acres are sold for about L.31,000. I need not say, that these lands are cultivated by slaves, whose property belongs to the lord, who at the same time has full jurisdiction over them.

I have planned a series of chemico-botanico-agricultural experiments, which, with the assistance of Messrs Schmeisser and Wattinbach, I intend to carry on upon a farm I just now bought near my estate for that purpose. The experiments shall be made with care, and described with accuracy.

I will feel very happy in laying before you and the Board of Agriculture, the result of my endeavours in both ways; and rejoice in being instrumental in adding a link to that chain of good-will and communicated information, by which, I trust, all nations will soon be united with each other.

I see, with infinite pleasure, that you have great probability of succeeding in your motion for a general inclosure act, which, modified as it may be, will still serve to diminish the expense and loss of time attending private applications to Parliament, whose success still may be made doubtful by particular influence. Could you add to this wise measure, a commutation of tithes at a fixed sum *per* acre, the effect upon rural industry would be incalculable. After that, the state of your labourers requires your attention, and I do not hesitate in saying, that this is the most important point of all.

May still increasing prosperity attend that happy island, where I have spent so many comfortable hours, and been taught to love and revere so many characters, that do honour to humanity. May you continue to shew to the world, that the blessings you enjoy are the never-failing effects of liberty well understood, and limited by wisdom *in your public*, by virtue *in your private transactions*; and at my return amongst you,

may nothing strike my eye but sights of bliss ! This is the fervent wish of, Dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

VOGHT.

When I raised a regiment of fencibles in 1795, I sent an engraving of a soldier of the corps, in the Highland uniform, to my friend Baron Voght, on which occasion he wrote to me the following letter :

Edinburgh, 1st May 1795.

DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged to you for the very handsome specimen of Highland soldiery, upon whom I look, indeed, in the very respectable light, of the defenders of their country, and of the best of all constitutions.

I will take it with me, to shew to my countrymen, the union of the two exertions, by which a man can be most well deserving of this country—both to feed and to protect it ; and if I was to draw your picture, one hand should lean upon the plough, when the other was wielding the sword. That you may soon have occasion to turn it into a coulter, is my most sincere wish.

I herewith send you a few copies of an imperfect account of an excellent establishment \*. It is an object so nearly related to public happiness, that I make no apology for troubling you with them, nor for begging you to communicate them to such of your friends as employ themselves in pursuits of this kind. I am, with true respect, your very humble and faithful servant,

VOGHT.

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\* Connected with the management of the poor in Hamburg.

## IV.

## ROBERT PATTERSON, ESQ. OF AMERICA.

Among the distinguished natives of America, with whom I became acquainted in the course of my agricultural pursuits, there was none who seemed to be better entitled to regard and esteem, than Robert Patterson, Esq., from whom I had the pleasure of receiving the following communication :

Park Corner, 23d June 1820.

DEAR SIR,

I am obliged to you for the Prospectus, and have no doubt that it will be well received in America. Your Code of Agriculture has been published in America, and is in the hands of every intelligent agriculturist there. Indeed it has excited a degree of attention to that useful science, *never felt by us before.*

I shall have pleasure in meeting with you at Holkham.  
Yours very sincerely and faithfully,

ROBERT PATTERSON.

## V.

## G. W. FEATHERSTONHAUGH, ESQ. OF NEW YORK.

This zealous agriculturist visited Scotland, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of husbandry in that country, and he furnished me with very satisfactory accounts of the progress of agriculture in America. In answer to the inquiries I had made, regarding the establishment of a board of agriculture in the State of New York, I had the pleasure of receiving from him the following communication :

DEAR SIR,

In reply to your letter, I have the greatest pleasure in stating, that the success of our Board of Agriculture in the United States has been equal to our most sanguine expectations. I venture to assure you, that the most active and distinguished agriculturists amongst us, entertain that opinion in common with myself. The Legislature of the State of New York, in whose extensive and fertile territory its operation has been most felt, has constantly made appropriations, adequate to a liberal support of the measures our Board has pursued; and expectations are entertained, that it will be reorganized upon a more enlarged plan, adding to it an experimental farm, for the agricultural education of young men connected with the landed interest.

At the close of the last war, the old cleaned lands were found in a somewhat exhausted state, and we touched upon the period, when, to make them productive, it was absolutely necessary to carry some science into our farming, and to call to our aid the experience of other countries. Up to this period we had done little more than burn the forests as fast as we could,—get heavy crops of wheat and Indian corn, and afterwards crop the land as long as it would repay us,—then fly to new lands, and repeat the same operation. For obvious reasons, there was only the experience of Great Britain to look to. General Washington had, during his lifetime, strongly recommended to the country, to follow the example of the British Government, and establish a Board of Agriculture; but nothing was done, probably for the reason, that men of leisure and means, were not sufficiently numerous, to attend to the management of so many details, as were comprehended in such an important work. That class having very much increased amongst us, the difficulty in that particular was obviated, and the system put into operation. It has been carried on with spirit; and such has been the happy result of the emulation which has been excited, that the turnip culture has been introduced, with every favourite breed of cattle and sheep

you possess in the mother country. We can shew very excellent ploughing, and have got into useful rotations of crops. I can somewhat illustrate this to you by stating, that within five years of the establishment of our laws for the encouragement of agriculture, I have seen, in one furnace establishment, forty-six different cast-iron improved ploughs, none of which had been made before the conclusion of the last war. I may add also, what is of great advantage to the country, that the farmers are more satisfied with their condition, which has been greatly elevated in the public estimation. At what period we should have been so generally possessed of these acquisitions, if the Government and individuals had not given so great an impulse to the farming interest, I cannot tell.

I have great pleasure in assuring you, that it is very generally admitted amongst us, that your zealous efforts to establish the British Board of Agriculture, with a view to the same results in this nation, have contributed greatly to the diffusion of our knowledge in this important branch of industry. We have in this imitated Great Britain, as in many of her other prominent arts and sciences.

It will be always a source of satisfaction to good men, that even in these interesting circumstances, will be found an additional strength, for the natural bond which, I trust, will always unite the two countries, in the pursuit of what renders human life dignified and desirable. I have the honour to remain, Dear Sir, with very great respect, your faithful and obedient humble servant,

G. W. FEATHERSTONHAUGH.

Edinburgh, Jan. 10. 1827.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart, &c.



## VI.

## GENERAL WASHINGTON.

There is none of my correspondents, whose communications I received with more sincere pleasure, than those of General Washington. I shall have occasion to print several of them in Vol. ii. under the head of "*American Correspondence*." This illustrious statesman and soldier, entered with much zeal into all the measures I was carrying on for the improvement of agriculture, and wrote on the subject with so much animation and intelligence, as called forth greater exertions than otherwise I would, perhaps, have attempted. The sentiments he conveyed to me, in various communications, but more especially in the following, do the greatest credit to his head and his heart.

*Letter from General Washington to Sir John Sinclair, dated Philadelphia, July 20. 1794.*

SIR,

I have read with peculiar pleasure and approbation, the work you patronise, so much to your own honour and the utility of the public. Such a general view of the agriculture in the several counties of Great Britain is extremely interesting, and cannot fail of being very beneficial to the agricultural concerns of your country, and to those of every other wherein they are read, and must entitle you to their warmest thanks, for having set such a plan on foot, and for prosecuting it with the zeal and intelligence you do.

I am so much pleased with the plan and execution myself, as to pray you to have the goodness to direct your bookseller, to continue to forward them to me, accompanied with the cost, which shall be paid to his order; or remitted so soon as the amount is made known to me. When the whole are re-

ceived, I will promote, as far as in me lies, the reprinting of them here.

I know of no pursuit in which more real and important service can be rendered to any country, than by improving its agriculture,—its breed of useful animals,—and other branches of a husbandman's cares ;—nor can I conceive any plan more conducive to this end, than the one you have introduced, for bringing to view the actual state of them, in all parts of the kingdom, by which good and bad habits are exhibited in a manner too plain to be misconceived ; for the accounts given to the British Board of Agriculture appear, in general, to be drawn up in a masterly manner, so as fully to answer the expectations formed in the excellent plan which produced them ; affording, at the same time, a fund of information useful in political economy, and serviceable in all countries.

Commons, tithes, tenantry, (of which we feel nothing in this country,) are in the list of impediments, I perceive, to perfection in English farming ; and taxes are heavy deductions from the profit thereof. Of these we have none, or so light as hardly to be felt. Your system of agriculture, it must be confessed, is in a style superior, and of course much more expensive than ours ; but when the balance at the end of the year is struck, by deducting the taxes, poor rates, and incidental charges of every kind, from the produce of the land in the two countries, no doubt can remain, in which scale it is to be found.

It will be some time, I fear, before an agricultural society, with congressional aids, will be established in this country. We must walk, as other countries have done, before we can run. Smaller societies must prepare the way for greater ; but, with the lights before us, I hope we shall not be so slow in maturation as older nations have been. An attempt, as you will perceive, by the inclosed outlines of a plan, is making to establish a state society in Pennsylvania. If it succeeds, it will be a step in the ladder ; at present it is too much in embryo to decide on the result.

With great respect and esteem, I have the honour to be,  
Sir, your obedient servant,

Go. WASHINGTON.

There is nothing that could be more gratifying to a person devoted to agriculture, than to have such a correspondent as General Washington ; and under his auspices, to have contributed to excite a spirit of agricultural improvement in the New Empire of America,—an empire, which is likely to reach a degree of power and pre-eminence, which the world has not hitherto witnessed. The foundation of its power is fortunately laid in the cultivation of the soil, the only true basis of *permanent* national prosperity. Without food, not a single individual can exist for any space of time. How is it possible, then, for great communities, composed of multitudes of individuals, to prosper, unless that essential requisite can be procured *at home*, independently of other countries, and in quantities sufficient to supply every necessary demand ? In fact, *manufactures*, under a judicious system, ought properly to be considered, as the agricultural produce of a country, converted into a more convenient and portable shape ; and *commerce* ought principally to consist, in the exchange of those goods, for such foreign articles as we may require. But none, excepting visionary politicians, or interested master manufacturers, would think of recommending to the attention of their fellow subjects, to exchange manufactures *for food*. America will, I trust, act upon sounder principles ; and if it does, it cannot fail to prove *permanently happy and prosperous*. Let the Americans keep this political truth in view, “ That the duration of states, whose power depends upon commerce, as Tyre, Carthage, Venice, and Holland, has uniformly proved precarious and evanescent ;” and the reason is obvious, that want of genuine patriotism, which commerce necessarily engenders, and the luxury, selfishness, and vices resulting from it, uniformly occasion, in commercial nations, an early decay.

**PART VIII.**

**STATISTICAL CORRESPONDENCE,  
AND REMINISCENCES.**



## STATISTICAL CORRESPONDENCE, AND REMINISCENCES.

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THE object of that great undertaking, “ The Statistical Account of Scotland,” was to procure from about *nine hundred* clergymen in that country, an account of their respective parishes. The attempt was almost universally deemed impracticable. It had been tried in various countries; as, 1. Spain; 2. Sweden; 3. France; 4. Several States in Germany; 5. Denmark; 6. Portugal; 7. England; 8. Ireland; and, 9. In Scotland; but in vain \*, though in general under the auspices, and sometimes at the expense of these several governments. Nay, after the work had made some progress, its failure was prognosticated in the following terms: “ There have not been wanting different persons, public spirited indeed, but perhaps of too sanguine dispositions, who, struck with the subserviency of parochial distinction, to the advancement of both civil and natural history, have addressed letters to the different parishes in Scotland, and particularly to the clergy, inviting them to a correspondence on whatever might appear most curious and interesting in their respective divisions. *These gentlemen do*

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\* See the Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xx. to which there is prefixed, “ The History of the Origin and Progress of that Work, Appendix G. p. 69.” An account is there given of the various attempts, in the several countries above alluded to, and the progress made in each.

*not reflect, that there is no individual, however distinguished by genius, rank, or fortune, or even by a happy or rare union of all these advantages, who can possibly be considered, by a whole nation, as a fit centre for such general cooperation \*.*" This extensive and laborious work, however, was completed in the space of about seven years; exhibiting, in the words of a distinguished political author, "a better picture of the internal state of a country, than has yet been presented to the world †."

From a number of letters received regarding this work, the following extracts are selected, as sufficient to give some idea of the opinion that was entertained of this undertaking, both at home and in foreign countries.

No. 1.—*Extract of a Letter from the Reverend Dr Robert Henry, the Historian, dated the 19th July 1790.*

"I had the honour to receive your printed letter, with the inclosed paper, a few days ago. A perfect knowledge of the population, and other circumstances of our country, may be of great utility; *greater perhaps than can be at present foreseen.* You are much to be commended, Sir, for your efforts to obtain that knowledge, and should be assisted by every Scotchman who hath it in his power. I am sorry that my retired situation, and very precarious state of health, make it impossible for me to be of so much use to you as I wish. Besides, I am engaged in finishing the sixth volume of my history of Great Britain, a work of which you may, perhaps, have heard."

No. 2.—*Extract of a Letter from George Dempster, Esq. dated 14th February 1791.*

"The reason of my troubling you at present, is, to return you my thanks for the specimen of the statistical observations. This is a most valuable and useful book. It is a real Doomsday book, and promises to be more read and quoted than any book printed since Doomsday book. The older it grows, the more valuable it will prove. The object of this letter is, to entreat you to go on with it. Your industry

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\* See Newt's Travels, published by Robinsons, London, in 1 vol. 4to. an. 1791, p. 427.

† Malthus on Population, 1st edit. 1803, p. 13. and 14. note.

is fully adequate to the task. It will also place the intelligence and good sense of our clergy in a very advantageous point of view. When the general approbation of the public follows this of mine, which it certainly will do, I pray you to extend your views to England and Ireland, and give us all the three kingdoms. The sale will defray the expense, and found an academy at Thurso."

No. 3.—*Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Dr Blair, dated  
15th April 1791.*

"I am very happy at there being such a general consent through the country, in seconding your patriotic views of obtaining a satisfactory Statistical Account of Scotland. The clergy seem to have exerted themselves more on this occasion than I had expected from them."

No. 4.—*Extract of a Letter from the Marquis del Campo, Ambassador from the King of Spain, dated 22d May 1792.*

"I have read with great pleasure indeed, the Prospectus you have been so good as to send me, and I admire the manner in which the general inquiry, regarding the political state, population, industry, &c. of a kingdom is treated. I shall certainly make the properest use in my power, of the other books for M. Campomanes, and other persons in Spain of the same description, and shall direct one for Count d'Aranda, recommending your wishes to him very earnestly."

No. 5.—*Extract Translation of a Letter from the Count de Staden, the Imperial Minister at the British Court, dated 25th May 1792.*

"I beg to return my best acknowledgments for the Prospectus which you have had the goodness to send me. Works of such general concern cannot fail to be favourably received, by those who are attached to the useful sciences. I shall not neglect to communicate them to several persons in Germany, who have applied themselves to those studies, and who, I am persuaded, will be much flattered in an opportunity of assisting you."

No. 6.—*Extract Translation of a Letter from the Comte de Redern, the Prussian Minister at the Court of London, dated 14th June 1792.*

"The interesting details contained in that work, (the Statistical Account of Scotland), cannot fail to make the public impatient for



the conclusion of so great an undertaking. The plan embraces all those important objects, on which depends the prosperity of political society ; and the researches founded thereon, seem to be equally extensive and laborious."

No. 7.—*Extract Translation of a Letter from Professor Zimmerman of Brunswick, dated 17th July 1792.*

"It is with peculiar pleasure that I received your obliging letter and the works which accompanied it. I shall not delay a moment to insert an ample extract, in the last number of my Geographical and Statistical Journal, which I have published for above two years. These sciences will gain much by your enterprise ; and I feel the greatest anxiety to see a work, of such extent and utility, brought to a conclusion."

No. 8.—*Extract Translation of a Letter from the Comte de Hertzberg, formerly Minister to Frederick the Great, dated Berlin, 19th August 1792.*

"I return you many thanks for your Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland ; and wish I could converse with you on a number of objects, which are equally interesting to both our countries. I entirely approve of your very excellent idea, that of investigating the interior state of every district, by reports from the ministers of each parish ; and I am of your opinion, that if provided with good models, no class of men could be more proper for so important an undertaking, than the parochial clergy, who have usually the requisite knowledge and capacity, as well as the necessary leisure for that purpose. I earnestly wish that I could imitate here, in my dear country, your very patriotic example."

In a posterior letter, dated Berlin, 8th March 1793, Count Hertzberg states, "I have to return my best thanks for your interesting work, the Statistical Account of the Parishes in Scotland. I find the plan particularly well formed ; and if I were again at the head of the Prussian Cabinet, would carry it into execution here."

No. 9.—*Extract Translation of a Letter from Monsieur Pleschéf, author of a Geographical View of the Russian Empire, dated St Petersburg, 25th September 1792.*

"If it should ever be in my power to draw up a complete Statistical Account of Russia, on a plan more extensive, and more philoso-

phic, than the work I have already executed, nothing can be more serviceable, than the valuable specimen which you have had the goodness to communicate to me, which may justly be considered, as a sure foundation, and a classic and inestimable model, to be followed by those who may choose to occupy themselves in such valuable researches."

No. 10.—*Extract of a Letter from Dr Guthrie, dated St Petersburg, 26th September 1792.*

"Your Statistical Work is, in my opinion, the most perfect which has ever yet appeared, and will probably serve as a model to other countries, although few possess the same set of respectable pastors, to collect materials, living with their flock in habits of friendship and intimacy, the natural result of the sensible *regime* of the Scotch church."

No. 11.—*Extract of a Letter from Professor Thorkelin, dated Copenhagen, 24th November 1792.*

"Your Analysis of the Political State of Scotland, is not only admired here, but followed. It has given rise to new ideas, in particular to a new society in Norway, who have united themselves in order to make the present state of that long-forgotten kingdom publicly known. Such exertions, though particularly advantageous to Great Britain, will also be of immense benefit to others who derive information from them. The Statistical Account of Scotland, translated into German, is announced, as preparing for the press at Leipzig."

No. 12.—*Extract of a printed Letter to the Clergy of Cornwall, respecting the establishment of a County Library, dated 23d December 1792.*

"We may flatter ourselves, that such an institution will excite the emulation and attention of our brethren the clergy of Cornwall, to useful and interesting subjects, and particularly to what relates to the natural history, antiquities, and biography of the county. In this way, owing to the exertions of the clergy, animated and solicited to the pursuit by a Scottish Baronet, a curious and judicious account is now giving, not of a single county, but of a whole sister kingdom."

No. 13.—*Extract of a Letter from his Excellency John Adams, then President of the United States of America, dated Philadelphia, 2d March 1793.*

“ I received yours, with your plans for a natural history of sheep, and the Statistical Survey of Scotland. You could not have made a wiser choice. The natural history of that animal, so useful to man, must be extremely important, as well as extremely curious ; and a detail of particulars, relative to your native country, must be interesting to all, but especially to the inhabitants of it. We, in this country, enjoy a delicious tranquillity at present, and if your European fermentations should not disturb us, shall continue to be happy.”

No. 14.—*Extract of a Letter from Mr Kenrick of Bewdley, dated 13th March 1793.*

“ I cannot dissemble the pleasure I feel, in having an opportunity of offering you my mite of praise, for planning and calling forth the Statistical History of Scotland, which abounds with such a well-digested fund of useful information, and exhibits to the world at large, so just a picture of a body of clergy, who do the highest honour to their profession and to their country.”

No. 15.—*Extract of a Letter from General Washington, dated 15th March 1793.*

“ I cannot but express myself highly pleased with the undertaking in which you are engaged, (that of drawing up the Statistical Account of Scotland), and give my best wishes for its success. I am fully persuaded, that when enlightened men will take the trouble to examine so minutely into the state of society, as your inquiries seem to go, it must result in greatly ameliorating the condition of the people, promoting the interests of civil society, and the happiness of mankind at large. These are objects truly worthy the attention of a great mind, and every friend to the human race must readily lend his aid towards their accomplishment.”

No. 16.—*Extract of a Letter from Lord Auckland, dated 15th July 1793.*

“ I consider your Statistical Reports, as exhibiting a course of inquiry, of great importance to mankind ; and I admire the courage and right principles, which enable you to go forwards, as if the crisis

which has lately menaced the overthrow of all civil institutions, were completely and favourably ended."

No. 17.—*Extract of a Letter from John Pinkerton, Esq. dated the 23d February 1794.*

"In looking over the Survey of Scotland, accomplished by your exertions, it occurred to me, that I could furnish an article worthy to appear in an Appendix to one of the volumes of the Statistical Account. I need not inform you, that in the third volume of Prynne's Records, there is a large, but indigested list, of all those in Scotland, who paid homage to Edward I. in 1291, and 1296, forming a kind of Domesday book of the country at that period. Four years ago, I, with some labour, reduced the numerous names and designations into alphabetical order, and the list being now adapted to general use, and containing the names and designations of the chief landholders, citizens, and clergy, at the time, it may be regarded as of no small importance to our ancient Statistics, topography, and genealogy. If your opinion coincides, I shall with pleasure present it to you for the purpose, and correct the press."

No. 18.—*Extract of a Letter from Dr Gillies the Historian, dated the 2d June 1794.*

"Not only the *Analyse de l'Etat Statistique d'Ecosse*, but also the larger work, in English, I have perused with the greatest satisfaction and delight.

"There are dark oblivious ages in the history of the world, during which the human mind remained buried in torpid inactivity. There are other periods, when the vivid powers of man awaken from their lethargy, and, as if refreshed, after a long and undisturbed repose, exert themselves with redoubled energy. The times in which we live, belong to the latter description; but that they do so, is owing to the generous and well-directed exertions of enlightened and patriotic individuals.

*"Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,  
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo."*

No. 19.—*Extract of a Letter from J. P. Andrews, Esq. the Author of the Continuation of Dr Henry's History, dated 31st December 1795.*

“ If any one can aid my researches, it must be the author of the Statistical Account of Scotland, a book which I have perused with equal *pleasure* and *astonishment*, I may almost say, *envy*, since the southern part of the island ought to blush, at having never produced a similar work.”

No. 20.—*Extract Translation from the Bishop de Leon, dated 17th July 1797.*

“ I read with peculiar interest, your work concerning the Statistical State of Scotland, because I had been engaged, some years ago, in similar inquiries in my own diocese, though not on so great a scale. Such inquiries afford the true means of ascertaining the best mode of improving the condition of a people.”

No. 21.—*Extract of a Letter from Mr George Stuart, formerly Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh.*

[Of all the letters which I received in the course of this inquiry, there is none which could possibly have had greater influence with me, than the following. Those who have been educated at the University of Edinburgh, must remember well Professor George Stuart \*, one of the best scholars, and one of the ablest men, at that University, when it certainly rivalled, for erudition and talents, the most celebrated seminaries in Europe. I had attended his class, but had not seen him for many years. It was by the merest accident, (franking a letter to him), that any intercourse was renewed between us. The respectable Professor, thought he would embrace that opportunity, of encouraging his old pupil, to persevere in a course, which met with his particular approbation. I think it right to give a larger extract from this letter, as it may be as serviceable to other young men, as to the person to whom it was addressed.]

“ I had the honour of a letter last night from Lord Buchan, in which he desires me to send my answer to Sir John Sinclair, who will transmit it by post. It is with peculiar pleasure, that I embrace this opportunity, which has been put in my way by his Lordship, of

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\* Father of Gilbert Stuart, a well-known literary character.

troubling you with this note, in order to revive the ideas of your youth, and to congratulate you on the many and manly efforts you continue to make, for the real interest and honour of your country. While others are sailing down the stream, in quest of baubles, and are in danger every moment of sinking by the way, into merited contempt and oblivion, your perseverance and independent spirit, will transmit your name with honour to posterity, with present admiration, and true satisfaction to yourself. *Obliti patriæ, memores tantum sui*, seems a fit motto for the present luxurious and degenerate age. If they are to be roused to any degree of public spirit, which indeed I despair of, the attempt is laudable, even though it should not succeed, *magnis tamen excidit ausis*. I have read all your printed works, which both instructed and pleased me. Your last attempt will be attended with great advantage, as every wise administration will attend to several hints of police, which arise out of the Reports of the different parishes."

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Nothing could have been more disinterested than the conduct of the Scotch clergy, in drawing up the account of their respective parishes; a task which often proved exceedingly laborious. It was undertaken from the purest public motives, and without the smallest prospect of personal advantage.

About this time, a plan had been formed, to establish a Society for the Benefit of the Sons of the Clergy belonging to the established church in Scotland, and it accidentally occurred to me, that some public assistance might be procured for so useful an institution, as an acknowledgment to the clergy for their statistical exertions.

Sir Henry Moncreiff, and Dr Hardie, who took an active part in the concerns of the society, expressed great doubts respecting the practicability of obtaining such a grant; but the Society having at last been prevailed upon to resolve on sending a petition to the Crown, the application was transmitted to Mr Secretary Dundas, who, in a communication to me upon the subject, said, "That he felt peculiar pleasure in submitting to his Majesty's consideration, the petition for a grant to the Society for the Benefit of the Sons of the Cler-

gy, more especially as they had so handsomely stepped forward, to aid so important a public object, as the Statistical Account ; and he hoped that such a mark of royal favour, as his Majesty had determined to bestow, would have the effect of rendering them more and more zealous in their statistical researches \*.” The sum granted was L.2000 ; and it enabled the Society to commence their allowances to the Sons of the Clergy, much earlier than otherwise they could have done.

I closed my statistical labours, with drawing up “ An Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland,” with a view of giving to the public, a condensed view of the valuable information contained in this great repository of human knowledge. My object was, to lay a foundation for a work I contemplated, “ The Code of Political Economy,” on the sure basis of *statistical researches*. With this view, the whole 21 volumes were carefully examined ;—the most material observations, to the amount of above 5000 extracts, were taken out, arranged under different heads, and amalgamated into one uniform mass, and thus, any repetitions of the same facts, or a recurrence of the same ideas, were avoided.

\* The exertions made by Sir Henry Moncreiff, and his friend Dr Hardie, in establishing this useful society, did them the greatest credit. Sir Henry, indeed, was not only an active and public-spirited character himself, but took a pleasure in eulogising the public services of others. It was principally from this motive that he was induced to draw up an account of the Life of Dr John Erskine, who was one of the most respectable ministers that the church of Scotland ever possessed. He summed up the character of this divine in the following words :

“ Dr Erskine had, from nature, a considerable portion of that keenness of temper, which, when it is not under the perpetual control of habit and principle, is apt to embitter the competitions, and to diminish the comforts of human society. In him, it was so much under his self command, that it only served, in public life, to add to the fertility of his resources, and to the activity of his mind. Eager to do his duty in its full extent, he lost sight of nothing which, he imagined, would be subservient to it ; *and was not to be diverted from his purpose, either by opposition, or by difficulties, as long as he considered the object he aimed at, to be either worthy of his exertions, or attainable by his activity.*” This last sentence, is the best description I have met with, of a truly great and public-spirited character.

**PART IX.**

**MEDICAL CORRESPONDENCE, AND  
REMINISCENCES.**





## MEDICAL CORRESPONDENCE AND REMINISCENCES.

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THE Code of Health and Longevity was undertaken in opposition to the opinions of some most respectable friends. But I was convinced, that by investigating that subject, I would not only benefit myself, but might be able to furnish a number of useful hints to others. My own health has been so much improved, by the information I have acquired in the course of these inquiries, that though not of a long-lived family, and though I have spent a very laborious life, yet, at the age of seventy-six, I feel no material diminution in personal strength, or mental faculties ; and have not only ventured on the present work, but have also several other extensive undertakings of a literary nature in contemplation. I am convinced, indeed, that had it not been for the plan of living, which my medical researches have enabled me to form, I should not, at this moment, have been alive, or at least capable of any material exertion.

But though I met with discouragement from some of my friends, others strongly urged me to engage in these medical inquiries. One of my correspondents, in particular, wrote to me, “ That the less expected such a work may be from you, or any other individual not professedly in the medical line, the

more likely it is to be extensively read, and to have its arguments and statements correctly and candidly considered." And a most intelligent and respectable Swedish gentleman, the Chevalier Edelcrantz, strongly urged me to persevere; "for the art," he said, "of preserving health, and giving longevity to man, *forms a link in that chain of useful pursuits, to which your time has been devoted.*"

The following letters, addressed to me on the subject of health and longevity, may prove interesting to the reader:

No. 1.—*Letter from John, Duke of Argyll, dated Inverary, March 1. 1802.*

This respectable nobleman was one of the best men I ever met with, in the course of my long experience; and the compliment paid to his correspondent, at the conclusion of his letter, is peculiarly delicate and well expressed \*.

"The Duke of Argyll presents his best compliments to Sir John Sinclair; and takes this early opportunity of thanking him, for his very friendly letter, and communication on the subject of longevity. The study of those productions, which Sir John's indefatigable zeal has brought forward, has contributed to the improvement of the Duke of Argyll's health, and consequently to his hopes of a long life; and he sincerely wishes, that the same causes, will produce the same effects, with Sir John."

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\* My excellent correspondent, the Duchess of Gordon, was still more complimentary. In a letter, dated the 10th of February 1805, she writes to me in her usual lively manner: "Thanks, mon tres cher Chevalier, for your beautiful pebbles, and your work on health. You ought to possess every valuable in earth or sea. Nobody has done so much to make them useful, and to make them the constant source of amusement and happiness to mankind."

No. 2.—*Letter from Sir Adam Fergusson of Kilkerran, Bart.*  
*dated June 17. 1802.*

Sir Adam Fergusson was one of the most respectable characters, in private life, that Scotland ever produced ; and during the short time he represented the county of Ayr, was a distinguished Member of Parliament. The subjoined extract sufficiently proves his talents for epistolary correspondence.

“ With regard to the subject of the pamphlet with which you have favoured me, *Longevity*, it is certainly one, which, considered as a point of natural history, is curious in itself, and deserving of investigation. As a political problem, I confess myself not to be sanguine in my hopes, of its ever being brought the length of being attended with much practical utility. In the present advanced state of our knowledge of this globe, we have opportunities of seeing man in every state and condition, from the savage in the wood, to society in its highest state of improvement ; and, amidst all that diversity, I have not observed any marked diversity in the duration of human life. In every part of the earth, and from the time of the Patriarch David to this day, threescore and ten years, seem to be nearly the limit of active life ; and the comparatively few examples of men, who have lived ten, twenty, or even thirty years more, seem only to be such deviations from the usual course of nature, as must be expected in all cases of an average calculation. Besides, how few of these extraordinary circumstances of prolonged life, have been of any consequence to the world, or to the country to which they belonged ? Mere existence, of whatever consequence it may be supposed to be to the individual, is of none to the world, if the individual, whose life is so prolonged, can neither, by his bodily labour profit his country, by the exertions of his mind improve it, or by the production of children add to its population \*. If we can quote a Mutius Scaevola, who, as I re-

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\* This seems too fastidious. A contrary doctrine is maintained in the concluding paragraph of this section. Old men may be of singular use, by their

collect, at the age of ninety, when rendered blind by age, sat in his hall, and gave advice gratis to all who came to consult him upon the civil law, and was called the oracle of Rome, how few instances of extreme old age have been any thing else, than instances of weak impaired infirmity;—how few of any advantage to mankind? But I admit, that if human life can, by any general methods, learned from experience, be prolonged, the presumption is, that the melioration of health will probably accompany it. It is certainly an inquiry, therefore, not to be neglected.”

No. 3.—*Extract of a Letter from Sir Alexander Ramsay Irvine, Bart. dated Harsley, (in Yorkshire,) 25th November 1802.*

Sir Alexander Ramsay was among the most respectable country gentlemen I ever met with. After having improved his estate of Balmain, in Scotland, he retired to a small property he had purchased in Yorkshire, for the sake of enjoying that quiet which, in old age, is so truly desirable. He has very ably explained his state and feelings in the following letter :

“ I have to thank you for the favour of your last letter. In return, I shall only speak of my own experience in point of longevity.

“ I hear and see tolerably well, so as to read a book, and to enjoy company.

“ Teeth are supplied by the dentist; and they answer all the purposes of preparing the victuals for digestion. In memory I am extremely deficient; I do not even remember old things; and it requires daily conversations and practice, to remember the great general political concerns of the present moment.

“ In my own affairs I am indolent; they do not now attach or concern me much.

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example, and their precepts; and there is not a more useful being in the universe, than “ *A Healthy Veteran*,” as I have endeavoured to describe him.

“ The prosperity of my country is my great object ; but when exertion is wanted, I feel myself wanting in that necessary manly spirit which youth inspires.

“ I am fond of society, and am not so nice in my choice as I formerly was. Yet I can live alone without *ennui*.

“ After this description, you may judge that I am tired of life. Yet I do not court a dissolution, nor indeed am I afraid of the king of terrors.”

No. 4.—*Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Joseph Townsend, dated Bath, 30th January 1805.*

“ Accept of my most sincere acknowledgments, for your polite attention, in submitting to my inspection your Prospectus of the Code of Health and Longevity. I admire the plan, and rejoice that you have undertaken the work. It could not possibly be in better hands. The country has been under infinite obligations to you, for your unremitting labour; and you have, by your example, sufficiently convinced mankind, according to the maxim you have inculcated, ‘ That the power of doing good is the proper limit by which our wishes for existence ought to be bounded \*.’ ”

No. 5.—*Extract of a Letter from William Spence, Esq. of Drypool, near Hull, dated 12th June 1807.*

“ I have been looking over, with great pleasure, the first volume of your “ Code of Longevity,” of the excellent design and execution of which, it is impossible to speak too highly. So arduous and praiseworthy an undertaking, effect-

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\* In a posterior letter, Mr Townsend writes, “ I have read, with exquisite pleasure, and minute attention, the little volume you was so condescending as to submit to the correction of your friend. It is so complete, that after the most mature recollection, I can find nothing to add ; and it is so correct, that I have not been able to detect one error, either in the diction, or in the subject-matter. It seems to answer your intention in the most perfect manner ; but at the same time it lays you open to one charge,—a charge exhibited by Bishop Tillotson against Dr Barrow, as the most unfair writer, because, on whatever subject he had treated, he left nothing for any one to say after him.”

ed from motives like yours, would have been sufficient to have established, for any other man, the title of friend of the human race. Of Sir John Sinclair's claim to that appellation, this is but one of the numerous proofs for which both the present generation and future ones have to thank him."

No. 6.—*Extracts of a Letter from the Rev. Robert Thomas, Minister of Abdie, in Fife, dated September 30. 1806.*

" I see in the newspapers, that you are soon to publish a work on Longevity, which, I doubt not, will, like your other works, possess much intrinsic merit, and be of great public utility. If, by your exertions in that line, you can add but ten years, or even one, to the life of man, you will proportionally multiply the hands employed in the useful and fine arts, and add to the sum of human happiness.

" In this country, the present age seems to be distinguished from all the preceding ones, by the rapid progress made in all things that tend to the improvement of the external condition of men ; and, in the annals of history, I make no doubt, it will appear, that Sir John Sinclair has done more towards such improvement, than any other individual, more, perhaps, in a general way, than all his cotemporaries together. But your genius, Sir John, is of a general and versatile nature ; and having contributed largely to the improvement of the situation of men, you now turn very naturally to the improvement of men themselves.

" Like your other works, this will undoubtedly tend, in a collateral way at least, to render men virtuous ; as, without virtue, men can neither be healthy, nor long lived. Virtuous habits are the *sine qua non*, the immediate sources of happiness ; and you have discovered your wisdom as a statesman, as well as your benevolence as a man, in leading men to this sacred, this copious and perennial source of happiness, when you seemed to be only pointing out to them, the way to affluence and health.

“ The salubrity of the air, seems to be one of the most general causes of longevity ; and this cause, you have contributed to increase, by contributing so much to the improvement of the soil. But the most general and efficacious cause of good health, appears to be *right conduct* ; and here we may see the goodness of our Creator and Preserver, in his putting the principal cause of longevity, *in the power of all*.”

No. 7.—*Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Dr Gregory of West-Ham, in Essex, dated February 21. 1805.*

This excellent divine published several valuable works on Divinity and other topics, and gave me some most valuable hints for the Code of Health. On announcing to him my intention of drawing up that work, he encouraged me to persevere in it, in the following friendly terms :

“ I do not know, that I ever felt more interested in any work, than in that which you have just announced. You do me a very great honour in supposing, that my contributions can be of any use ; and I can only assure you in return, that nothing would be more gratifying to my mind, than to be able to lend, even the smallest assistance to a performance, calculated so greatly to benefit mankind. Without any compliment, I do not know any author, who has done so much to benefit his fellow creatures, as Sir John Sinclair. It is many years ago, since, in company with the present Prime Minister of Russia, I read the whole of your elaborate work on the Revenue of Great Britain, and I can say, that I never read a work on finance, so clear, and so complete. I have not a doubt, but the extraordinary young man to whom I have just alluded, experiences, at this very moment, great benefit, from the attention he then bestowed upon it. In other instances, you have sacrificed all the vanity of an author, to the laborious duty of collecting materials to benefit your country ; and I contemplate, with wonder, the treasure you have collected.



You are now engaging in a still more extensive, and perhaps more beneficial undertaking. I see you will have great difficulties to encounter, only to be surmounted by your own resolution and perseverance; and not the least of these is, the prejudices of a body of men, powerful in the world of science."

In regard to the concluding paragraph of this letter, it was natural to expect some opposition on the part of the medical profession, to inquiries that might in some degree interfere with their occupation; but the superior classes of that profession, as appears from the following communications, were inclined to view the undertaking in a favourable light, and indeed as one from which they themselves might derive professional advantage:

No. 8.—*Extracts of Letters from several distinguished Medical Characters respecting the Code of Health.*

1.—*Dr Mathew Baillie, dated L. Grosvenor Street, March 9. 1805.*

"I had the honour of receiving, a few days ago, part of your intended publication upon Longevity. The subject is of the greatest importance, and I am convinced, that you will render it both instructive and interesting, not only to the public, but even to medical men, whose pursuits lead them to consider it with more than ordinary attention.

"The work I have read with great satisfaction: the observations which it contains are very important, and are expressed in very perspicuous language."

2.—*Dr Beddoes, dated 21st April 1807.*

"I beg leave to return my thanks for your inclosed Prospectus, and to express, at the same time, my sense of your obliging expressions, and attentions at various times.

“ I shall doubtless read your work with attention, and should be glad to communicate any remarks that may offer themselves during the perusal. But I cannot flatter myself, with the hope of saying much that can be worthy of your attention.

“ The efforts made by various individuals, will, I trust, at least produce that very desirable event,—a general inclination to attend to the preservation of health ; and Sir John Sinclair will doubtless come to be ranked among those, who have most contributed to this public benefit, as he has to various others.”

3.—*Dr Currie of Liverpool, dated 20th November 1802.*

“ I have this moment received your printed memoir of longevity, with the obliging letter of the 19th which accompanies it. I very truly wish it may be in my power, to assist your inquiries on this very interesting subject, and certainly I will give it every attention in my power. But it happens, that at the present moment, I am particularly and pressingly occupied, and I cannot therefore hope to make my communication, such as it may be, (I fear it will not be worth much), so speedily, as my respect for Sir John Sinclair, and my desire to promote those liberal inquiries and pursuits, in which he takes the lead of all his contemporaries, would lead me to wish.

“ Some time ago, I projected an inquiry into the best method of living, as to diet, sleep, exercise, and drink, for the preservation of the intellects in a sound and clear state, for all literary and philosophical, in one word, all intellectual purposes. I wished to collect facts, respecting the habits of men distinguished for the powers of intellect, and their successful exertion, under these heads. But hitherto I have made little progress. Where such men have attained a great age, as in the instance of the great Lord Mansfield, Lord Kames, Dr Blair, &c. my subject would merge into yours, and your si-

tuation and connections in life, might enable you to make such inquiries with success\*.

“ In fact, this subject might very happily form a division of, or a sequel to your own.”

4.—*Dr Trotter, dated Newcastle on Tyne, January 19. 1805.*

“ I have read the Prospectus of your Code with much satisfaction, and have no doubt, but the subjects of Health and Longevity, will derive fresh importance from your hands. The labour is a Herculean one ; but nevertheless ought not to be abandoned. This age is ingulphed in commercial speculation ; wealth is pouring upon this country like a torrent, and all the attendants of health are overwhelmed by its force. The diseases which spring from luxurious indulgence, are every where gaining ground, and sapping the powers of life and manhood. The extension of a military system, is giving additional activity to the fashionable vices ; and the village, and the cottage, are not exempt from the general degeneracy of health and manners. It would lead to an inquiry, far beyond the limits of a letter, to trace the influence of these bad propensities ; but, I conceive, that the rapid increase of those complaints, called nervous, bilious, indigestion, &c. are very much owing to the mercurial regimen, administered for the cure of *lues venerea*. They make three-fourths of all the ailments that come under medical treatment in these days ; they descend to the offspring, and fall particularly severe on the female, from native delicacy of frame.”

5.—*Dr Willan, dated Bloomsbury Square, 5th July 1805.*

“ Dr Willan begs Sir John Sinclair will accept his sincere thanks, for the perusal of his Essay on Health and Longevity, which must prove as useful, as it is ingenious. Dr W. has not observed any position in it, but what may be considered

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\* This useful hint was adopted in the course of my medical inquiries.

as medically correct. He thinks it would be best, that Sir John Sinclair should pursue his investigation, unchecked by the critiques of medical practitioners, or by written authorities, if not well supported by facts, and experiments. Systematic writers, and even practitioners who disavow systematizing, are often influenced by some hypothesis, which occasions them to observe through a medium, and renders their experience less certain, and less valuable.

“ The plan proposed by Sir John Sinclair, scarcely admits of emendation ; and, when completed, it cannot fail to be productive of much utility.”

6.—*Dr Waterhouse, Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic at the University of Cambridge, in North America, dated 28th May 1805.*

“ I received, from the hands of my venerable friend, Mr Adams \*, your Prospectus of the “ *Code of Health and Longevity*,” which I perused, perhaps with more than ordinary avidity, from having long entertained a desire, to effect a work of that kind, which, after several fruitless attempts, I abandoned in despair. I rejoice therefore to learn that a philanthropist, possessing the talents, and enjoying the celebrity of Sir John Sinclair, has undertaken the task, because I am persuaded he will accomplish it. Had we the requisite talents and learning, we, in these ends of the earth, have not the means for carrying on such an extensive work. We need something more than Lord Bacon’s History of Life and Death. The existence of one mortal is too short, to fill up the vast sketch, which that great man, with a too rapid hand, designed.”

7.—*Dr Rush of Philadelphia, dated 14th May 1805.*

“ Dr Rush returns his respectful compliments to Sir John Sinclair, with his thanks for his polite note, and the Prospec-

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\* The successor of General Washington in the Presidency of the United States of America.

tus of a large and interesting work which accompanied it. The Prospectus will shortly be republished in Dr Coxe's Medical Museum, through which it will have an extensive circulation in the United States.

“ Dr Rush sends Sir John Sinclair, herewith, a copy of a small pamphlet, on the injurious effects of ardent spirits on the bodies and minds of men.

“ The Doctor cannot conclude his note, without doing homage to the talents and zeal discovered by Sir John Sinclair, in his various publications, all of which have so eminently for their object, the happiness of nations and individuals.

“ They have made their author known, and rendered his character dear, to the friends of science and humanity, in every part of the United States.”

“ Philadelphia, 14th May 1805.”

It may be proper to add, that the Code of Health was very favourably received on the Continent; that it was translated into German by a most distinguished physician, Dr Spreugel; and that the celebrated Dr Hallé had resolved to superintend a translation of it into French. His intentions, however, were unfortunately frustrated by his untimely death.

But inquiries regarding health are of peculiar importance, not only as personally interesting to private individuals, but also as contributing to the *political happiness and prosperity of a country*. I was thence led to flatter myself, that, whatever might be done at home, the governments of *foreign countries* would assist in such useful investigations. I accordingly sent, through the medium of M. Otto, then ambassador from France at the Court of London, some copies of my original Essay on Longevity, translated into French, to be presented to M. Chaptal, then minister of the interior. The following is an extract of his letter on the subject, addressed to M. Otto.

*Extrait d'une Lettre du Ministre de l'Intérieur, au Ministre François près sa Majesté Britannique.*

“ Paris, le 11. Germinal, an. 10.

“ J'ai reçu la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire le 3. de ce mois, et les exemplaires que vous y avez joints, de l'essai de Sir John Sinclair, sur la Longévité. Je vous prie de le remercier de cet envoi. Il est digne d'un homme, qui s'est constamment occupé de ce qui est utile, de fixer son attention, sur un des points les plus curieux, et les plus intéressans de l'étude de l'homme. Les réponses aux questions proposées par Sir John Sinclair, répandroient, sans doute, quelque jour, sur les causes, jusqu'ici inconnues, de la différence dans la durée de la vie des hommes. On en voit qui, placés dans des circonstances qu'on jugeroit favorables, sont enlevés dès le premier âge ; tandis que d'autres, entourés de toutes les causes apparentes de la mort, atteignent le dernier terme de la vie des hommes. Je repandrai les questions de Sir John ; et je donnerai ordre, qu'on lui adresse chaque année, le relevé des tables de mortalité, que fait dresser le gouvernement, avec les observations particulières qui les accompagneront. Je serai fort aise, de connoître son opinion, sur ce travail, à mesure qu'il lui parviendra. Assurez le d'ailleurs, je vous prie, de toute mon estime, et du désir que j'ai d'établir des liaisons entre lui et moi.

(Signé) “ CHAPTAL \*.”

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• Translation.

*Extract of a Letter from the Minister of the Interior to the French Minister at the Court of his Britannic Majesty.*

Paris, 11. Germinal, year 10.

I have received the letter which you were so good as to write to me the 3d of this month, and the copies accompanying it of the essay of Sir John Sinclair upon Longevity. I beg you to thank him for this packet. It is worthy of a man, who has been constantly occupied with what is useful, to fix his attention upon one of the most curious and most interesting points in the study of man. The answers to the questions proposed by Sir John Sinclair would certainly throw some light upon the causes, hitherto unknown, of the difference in the duration of human life. One sees some who, placed in circumstances which one would judge favourable, are snatched away in their infancy ; whilst others, surrounded

The renewal of hostilities, soon after the treaty of Amiens, put an end to any literary correspondence between the two countries; but it is evident that the Government of France, at that time, were disposed to promote the investigation I had submitted to its attention.

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The importance of these inquiries in a public, or national point of view, I have endeavoured to explain in the following paragraph, extracted from the introduction to the Code of Health :

“ The attainment of longevity, if accompanied with good health, is not only an important consideration to the individual, *but also to the community to which he belongs.* If the mind be not oppressed with care, nor the body by sickness, our declining years often prove the happiest period of our existence. The fever of the passions has then abated, and the anxious and laborious pursuits of ambition and avarice are no longer interesting. Preparing to quit these sublunary scenes, “ THE HEALTHY VETERAN ” places his delight, in mental, rather than in corporeal exertions,—in performing generous actions to all around him,—in benefiting others by the knowledge and experience he has acquired,—in promoting social intercourse and rational amusement,—and in studiously endeavouring, to leave a character behind him, which shall be afterwards remembered with affection and respect.”

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with all the apparent causes of death, attain the utmost term of man's existence. I will make known Sir John's questions, and give orders to send to him every year, the extract of the bills of mortality which Government requires to be made out, along with the particular observations which will accompany them. I shall be very glad to know his opinion of them from time to time as they reach him. Assure him also, I entreat you, of my esteem, and of my desire to establish a correspondence between us.

(Signed) CHAPTAL.

**PART X.**

**CORRESPONDENCE AND REMINISCENCES,**

**REGARDING FINANCE, CURRENCY, AND COMMERCE.**





# CORRESPONDENCE AND REMINISCENCES,

## REGARDING FINANCE, CURRENCY, AND COMMERCE.

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THESE three branches of politics are most intimately connected. The financial resources of a country greatly depend upon its commerce; and commerce can never be permanently prosperous without a judicious system of currency and finance. These subjects, on which so many volumes have been written, are evidently too vast and important to be treated of in the section of a work. Some hints, however, regarding them, and letters in which they are discussed, may be submitted to the reader's consideration.

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### 1.—FINANCE.

Towards the close of the American war, Lord Stair, Dr Price, and a number of other persons of note in the political world, maintained, that the finances of this country were ruined; and that the nation must soon become bankrupt. To remove such gloomy apprehensions, I published, in 1783, "*Hints on the State of our Finances*," in which the alarming

doctrines inculcated on that subject, were so successfully refuted, as to produce the most beneficial consequences both at home and abroad.

I was afterwards led to engage in a still greater undertaking of a financial nature, namely, “ *The History of the Public Revenue of the British Empire*,” in 3 vols. 8vo. This work met with a very favourable reception at home, a third edition being printed in 1803-4; and abroad, the opinion entertained of it was in the highest degree flattering, as appears from the following extracts from a work, entitled, “ *Essai sur le Credit Commercial, considéré comme Moyen de Circulation. Par J. Marniere. A Hambourg, et à Paris, An. ix. (1801).*”

In the preface the following paragraphs occur :

“ L’Histoire de Revenu Public, et du Credit de la Grande Bretagne, par Sir John Sinclair, presente le vaste tableau, de toutes les operations de finances, que le Gouvernement Anglois a faites depuis un siècle, dans le genre des emprunts, et dans celui des impositions ; et l’auteur en demontre les avantages, ou les inconveniens, sans se laisser jamais égarer par des idées systematiques, ou des opinions de parti.”

“ La traduction de cet ouvrage manquoit à la France : il ne suffisoit même pas de le traduire ; il étoit nécessaire, pour le rendre aussi utile, qu’il doit être de le continuer jusqu’à ce jour ; et Sir John Sinclair, se bornant à presenter des exemples et des leçons de pratique, il falloit encore rapprocher, sous un même coup d’œil, les resultats des diverses operations, dont il donne le detail, et les comparer aux ressources qu’ont employées d’autres nations, pour établir, sur des bases certaines, les principes de la science des finances, et ne fonder jamais la théorie, que sur l’expérience.”

The following paragraphs are extracted from the essay itself :

“ L’Histoire des Finances de la Grande Bretagne, par Sir John Sinclair, m’a présenté la réunion de tous ces avantages :

elle en offre un plus rare encore chez cette nation. La plupart des Anglois, qui ont écrit sur la politique, dirigés par l'esprit de parti, ont mis l'exagération de faits et le sophisme, à la place de l'exactitude et du raisonnement, et ont souvent propagé des erreurs dangereuses, en lieu d'enseigner des vérités utiles. John Sinclair ne mérite presque jamais ce reproche : il est ennemi du principal ministre ; et cependant, il le critique rarement, et ne le critique qu'avec sagesse."

" Son ouvrage forme, sans contredit, le plus grande recueil des faits intéressans, sur les finances, qui existe en Europe."

" L'Histoire du Revenu Public de la Grande Bretagne, par John Sinclair, est trop connue pour que je m'arrête à en faire l'éloge ; je me contenterai de dire, qu'elle donne le détail de toutes les opérations de finances, que la nation de l'Europe, qui a sçu procuré à l'état le plus grand revenu, et le plus grand credit, a faites depuis un siècle, et que l'auteur en montre les avantages ou les inconveniens par des observations, dont la sagesse et la sagacité justifient sa grande reputation."

Upon sending M. Marniere's work to Robert Walsh, Esq. a most intelligent native of America, who happened to be in Edinburgh in December 1808, he wrote me a letter, on the 18th of that month, of which the following is an extract :

" I thank you sincerely for the *brochure* you sent me, (a copy of M. Marniere's tract). The language of the translator, on the subject of his original, is but an echo to the voice of Europe. I have heard *more forceful encomiums* pronounced by the Abbé Morellet."

In the History of the Revenue, I have drawn up a review, of Mr Pitt's financial administration \*, in which it is remark-

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\* It is printed in the History of the Revenue, 3d edit. vol. ii. p. 126.

ed, that, whether we consider the immense sums levied by the various taxes,—the greatness of the public expenditure,—the magnitude of the loans borrowed,—or the variety of new measures which were brought forward, it is an era, which certainly contains more interesting, and extraordinary particulars, connected with questions of revenue, than ever occurred in the annals of any other country, more especially during so short a period; and though, in many respects, the measures which the Minister proposed might be questioned, yet it was impossible not to admire the splendid talents that produced them, and the superior powers of eloquence, and dexterity in debate, with which they were defended. Mr Pitt was thus enabled to overcome difficulties, from which most other men would have shrunk.

On two of those subjects, namely, “The income-tax,” and “The redemption of the land-tax,” I took an active part in the debates \*. But the utmost exertions of the nation to raise a revenue, adequate to the necessities of the times, would have been in vain, had not the bank restriction taken place, and the country been thus fortunately emancipated from the oppression of a metallic currency. The superior value of that great truth in politics was then ascertained, “That though the introduction of the precious metals, for the purposes of money, ought to be considered as one of the most important steps towards the improvement of commerce, and the arts of civilised life, (and, it should have been added, to the procuring of an immense revenue), *that had ever been found out*, yet it was no less true, that with the advancement of knowledge and science, we discover, that it would be another improvement, *to banish those metals again from the employment to which, during a less enlightened period, they had been so advantageously directed †, and to substitute paper in their room.*”

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\* The speeches delivered on these occasions are printed in the History of the Revenue, vol. ii. p. 232 and 266.

† Ricardo's Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency, p. 24.

## 2.—THE CURRENCY.

The establishment of a paper circulation in England was certainly one of the most important events recorded in history. When that event took place, in 1797, the crisis of our public affairs was in the highest degree gloomy and appalling. The gigantic confederacy against France had crumbled away. A rebellion, organized with unprecedented art, was bursting out all over Ireland. The pride and safeguard of Great Britain, her Navy, was in a state of mutiny. The metropolis of the empire was blockaded by her own fleets at sea, while the seeds of sedition were industriously sown on shore. The price of the funds, that great barometer of public credit, had fallen below all precedent, and, amidst this multiplicity of aggravated perils, the unrivalled credit of the Bank of England was so shaken, that it was compelled to implore protection.

In this disastrous dilemma, necessity constrained us to try an experiment, which, previous to this extraordinary epoch, would have been deemed the very climax of folly; namely, to employ paper money as an universal medium of circulation, independent of the precious metals. There was nothing to aid, and, on the contrary, there were many things likely to frustrate the successful introduction of such a currency. But no sooner had specie ceased being paid at the Bank of England, than the nation, instead of falling into utter ruin, as had been confidently predicted, rose triumphantly over all its difficulties; and such a degree of energy and strength was given to our productive powers, as enabled us to *subsidize* all the nations of Europe at one period, and to *resist* and *conquer* them at another. The continuance of that system, with the improvements of which it was susceptible, were alone required, to render us the greatest and happiest country that ever existed.

But we are told that the subject was thoroughly investigated by respectable and intelligent Committees of both Houses,

and ought now for ever to be set at rest. How can it be expected, however, that questions of an abstruse and extensive description will be properly discussed, considering the brief and hurried manner in which the most important inquiries are usually carried on by such committees? The members have only a few hours to spare in the morning to attend to them. Their evenings are employed in parliamentary debates, and their attention must frequently be directed to a variety of other matters, both public and private. Under these circumstances, what can be expected from such committees, however desirous they may be to fulfil the objects of their appointment, *but defective information*; with this additional misfortune, that the members are too apt to form decided opinions from such defective information, to which, for the sake of what is called political consistency, they afterwards pertinaciously adhere? Subjects of an abstruse and extensive description ought to be referred, if not to a parliamentary commission constituted for that special purpose, or to the Boards of Trade or Agriculture, (if the latter should be again appointed), at least to parliamentary committees to sit during the recess. By such means, the most important political questions might be thoroughly investigated. At present, on the subject of the currency, the following momentous points remain untouched:

1. The expenses of coinage, since the Revolution, which, with accumulated interest, would now amount to many millions. By this means the heavy charges of a metallic currency would be proved.

2. The pecuniary advantages we have derived from a paper circulation, by taxes on bank notes,—borrowing large sums from the bank at low interest, &c. This would prove the advantages of a paper circulation; and would likewise amount to many millions.

3. Whether, by impoverishing other countries, by extracting from them their gold and silver, we do not disable them from giving us fair prices for our commodities.

4. Whether, by establishing a paper circulation, we would not derive advantages through the medium of the exchange, which ought to be accounted of inestimable value. And,

5. If the restoration of a metallic currency was necessary, whether it was not essential for the public interest, that the standard price should be increased, at least in proportion to former augmentations.

And here it may be proper to observe, that a high price of the precious metals, is uniformly attended with great national prosperity, the prices of goods being raised, and industry promoted ; and it is a singular but most important circumstance, that while we experience all the good effects of high prices here, we can sell our commodities at low prices on the Continent, where the standard is low. If foreigners send their goods here, they must sell them at high prices in our money, in order to obtain the quantity of precious metals they require ; whereas we can afford to sell our goods very cheap abroad, because prices, though low on the Continent, are equivalent to high prices here, from the amount of the precious metals they produce.

The advantages we would derive, from being independent of other nations for circulation, are perfectly incalculable. The precious metals are necessary for foreign commerce, being in all countries considered the medium of value ; but for commercial purposes, it is much better to have them in bullion than in coin. For domestic circulation, however, they are perfectly useless, and even ruinous ; for any dependence upon them, has an evident tendency to render the prosperity of a nation insecure, and may bring upon it the most dreadful calamities. Of this we had the most decisive evidence during the late panic.

It has been well observed, that money is merely an affair of convention, whether it is copper, silver, gold, or paper ; and if we despise those nations who have not advanced from the gross invention of copper or silver money, to the higher improvement of gold, we cannot but feel equally surprised,



that men, distinguished for their intellect, and with recent experience before them, cannot raise their minds yet farther, so as to admit the still greater advance that is made in political economy, when paper supersedes gold in the circulation of a country.

The great objection to a paper circulation is, the risk of notes being issued in too great abundance, and without adequate security. From the very commencement of the extension of the banking system in England, I saw the rock on which it was likely to split, and strongly pressed the doctrines of limitation and security on Mr Pitt, when Minister. The copy of a communication which he wrote me on that subject, it may be proper to subjoin.

Downing Street, Monday, March 6. 1797.

Mr Pitt presents his compliments to Sir John Sinclair. On the first view, he cannot help thinking, that the idea suggested by Sir John Sinclair, for regulating the issues of notes by bankers, would be attended with material difficulty ; but if the plan is farther detailed, he will be glad to have an opportunity of considering it.

It was in vain that a detailed plan was submitted to Mr Pitt's consideration \*. The fact is, that the country, in point of circulation, had at that time got into a prosperous state, and no British Minister will attend to any business that is not forcibly pressed on his attention. Mr Pitt was therefore naturally inclined to put off the evil day of bringing a question forward, which must necessarily have been attended with considerable difficulty in its arrangement. Had it been then adjusted, all the monetary difficulties and distresses we have since experienced, would probably have been prevented.

From the subjoined most important letter from Mr Ricardo, it appears that this great political economist perfectly con-

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\* It is to be seen in the History of the Revenue, 3d edit. vol. ii. p. 330.

verted with me in opinion, as to the superior advantages of a limited paper circulation, not convertible into coin.

*Letter from David Ricardo, Esq. to the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*

Upper Brook Street, 4th May 1817.

SIR,

I thank you for your pamphlet, which I have read with attention. I agree with you, that a part of our distress has been occasioned by the reduction of the circulation; but I consider it as a necessary price for the establishment of a better system, than that of encouraging an indefinite amount of paper circulation. I cannot think that any but a very small further reduction will be necessary, to enable the Bank to meet any demands that may be made on them for specie. The remedy, grievous as it is, is the necessary consequence of former error. I hope we shall never try an unchecked paper circulation again, though I have no objection to a paper circulation, and nothing but a paper circulation. It is obvious that, if we have forty millions, or any other given amount of taxes to pay, they will fall heavier on those who are to pay them, if money, by the diminution of its quantity, is raised in value. I have not seen Mr Attwood's publication. I am, Sir, your obedient and humble servant,

DAVID RICARDO.

Thus it appears, that Ricardo was decidedly of opinion, *that nothing but a paper circulation* should exist in this country, the smaller payments excepted. Where large sums, in the precious metals, were required, he proposed, that the payment should be made, not in coin, but in bullion.

It is much to be lamented, that those who profess to admire his talents and skill in political, and, above all, in financial questions, do not adopt the principles with which he was so deeply impressed.

## 3.—COMMERCE.

The principles on which the commerce of this country ought to be conducted, is another subject, respecting which a great difference of opinion now prevails. The old system, under which this nation flourished, was, *to encourage exports*, and to discourage the importation from other nations of goods with which we could supply ourselves. The great object, under the old system, was to secure the home market for our own people, and to see that our countrymen were fully employed, well fed, well clothed, well housed, and in every respect in comfortable circumstances.

The fashionable doctrine now contended for is, that it is for the interest of every country, as of every individual, to buy at the cheapest market all the goods it requires. Hence it is contended, that every encouragement ought to be given to the importation of foreign goods, *however destructive to domestic industry*. Nay, the abettors of this doctrine go so far as to assert, that the principles of free trade ought not to be renounced, in respect of nations who do not give us reciprocal advantages, but should be persevered in, notwithstanding their commercial hostility. Such a system, however, is so contrary to all the best feelings of human nature, that I am astonished it should meet with any countenance whatever, from persons, who are distinguished either for generosity in private life, or by public zeal.

A nation is a political community, where a number of persons unite for their mutual advantage. Can any thing, then, be more inconsistent with the nature of such an union, than that every individual in a body thus constituted, should be entitled to disregard the interests of those with whom he is associated, and to promote the industry of other countries, with whom he is totally unconnected? If a weaver or a shoemaker can say, “ *I will buy my corn from another country, because it is cheaper ;*” the farmer is equally well entitled to

purchase his clothes and shoes from foreigners, if they can be had at a lower price. The same ideas will soon pervade all the other classes, and the whole frame of the society will be dissolved.

The second principle on which this system rests is, that we need not be afraid of encouraging importation, for that goods of some description or other will be exported to some foreign country, by which, indirectly, they will be paid for.

But little is it considered, that foreign nations who send goods, corn in particular, for the most part obtain immediate payment, and usually in the precious metals, at the low standard unfortunately at present established in this country; or if the payment is made in goods, the price is so low, that the manufacturer cannot live with any degree of comfort on the wages he receives; and the payment is consequently made at the expense of the most cruel sacrifices: hence the alarming low prices at which our *exports* are estimated in the Customhouse accounts. What else could be expected from *a forced trade*?

It is only necessary to add, that, under the restrictive system, we reached a height unprecedented in history; and having prospered so much on that principle, *the doctrine of free trade* ought not to have been adopted, “UNLESS OTHER NATIONS HAD AGREED TO CONCUR IN THE EXPERIMENT.” A free trade might be well suited to a trading town like Hamburg; but there is much hazard of its proving injurious, to a great “*agricultural empire*” like “Great Britain and Ireland,” which, although it has likewise directed its attention, and with great success, to manufactures and commerce, yet derives its prosperity chiefly from its ability to supply itself with food, and other essential articles, *from its own resources*. Indeed, it appears to me an axiom in politics, “That no country can be happy at home, or powerful abroad, unless it be independent of other countries for circulation and food.”

It is a great misfortune attending *speculations* in political questions, that after a plan has been formed, with every like-

lihood of success, and apparently deduced from the soundest principles, some *unexpected* circumstances occur, which derange the whole system, and produce results, directly opposite to those which had been originally anticipated. So uncertain are the effects of plans formed in the closet, that until they have been actually reduced to practice, it is quite impossible to see what may be the result.

**PART XI.**

**CORRESPONDENCE AND REMINISCENCES,**

**REGARDING THE PUBLICATION OF THE POEMS OF**

**OSSIAN IN THE ORIGINAL.**



## CORRESPONDENCE AND REMINISCENCES,

### REGARDING THE PUBLICATION OF THE POEMS OF OSSIAN IN THE ORIGINAL.

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VARIOUS circumstances, which I shall briefly detail, contributed to impress me with a thorough conviction of the authenticity of the Poems of Ossian, as being the real productions of a Celtic bard, and not fabricated by Mr James Macpherson.

1. I knew Mr Macpherson well, and we frequently discussed the subject together, both at his house in London, and at his villa in its neighbourhood. He was indignant at the idea of having any hand in an imposture, or at any doubt being entertained, that the poems he had published were anything but *translations* from genuine Celtic poetry ; and he explained to me, from time to time, the steps he was taking, to get the poems published in the language in which they were composed.

2. A gentleman from the Isle of Sky, (Captain John Macdonald of Breakish,) came to reside on my estate in Caithness, who was much distinguished for his knowledge of Gaelic poetry, and who had furnished Mr Macpherson with several of the poems he had translated. Being examined upon oath before a magistrate, on the 25th September 1805, Captain Macdonald declared, “ That he was then in the 78th year of



his age : That when young he could repeat a great many of Ossian's poems, of different lengths and number of verses, which he had learned from an old man about eighty years of age : That he was well acquainted with the late Mr James Macpherson : That he had met with him at the Rev. Dr John Macpherson's house in the Isle of Sky : *That he had sung many of those poems to him, and that Mr James Macpherson took them down as he repeated them.*"

3. In the upper parts of my estates in Caithness, a race of genuine Highlanders had resided for ages. I had requested the Rev. Mr Cameron, the clergyman of that district, to send me any information he could procure regarding some Celtic music, as well as poetry to be found in that neighbourhood. It was difficult to get the air I particularly wished, as it rarely happened, that persons accustomed to note down music, visited those remote parts ; and though Mr Cameron could sing it, he could not put it upon paper. I was at last, however, agreeably surprised, by receiving a letter from Mr Cameron, dated Halkirk in Caithness, 19th December 1807, of which the following is an extract, in so far as respects the specimen of Gaelic music.

" The copy of the poem, and the air to which it was sung, I had more than thirty-five years ago, from one Murdo Bain in Dirlet, a man quite blind, deaf, and infirm, from old age ; he being then, I am persuaded, about one hundred years old. He could not tell his age, nor any thing else, more especially any thing of recent date, so distinctly, nor with such pleasure, as he repeated the poem. He was happy, at any occasion he got, to repeat it ; and never attempted to do so, without an extraordinary exertion to compose himself for it, taking great care, in particular, when he began, to uncover his gray-bald-shaking head. It diffused a glow of joy over his whole frame, old and infirm as it was. That, and some other poems of an inferior character, were handed down in his family, from generation to generation, as a most sacred trust and deposit ;

and it seems to have been faithfully and sacredly perpetuated among them all, till his own time, when it was dropt, though he had children and grandchildren at his death, some of whom are still alive. His *Paternoster* was not more sacred in his estimation ; and I am persuaded he could not repeat his prayers with more fervour and devotion.”

This is probably the most ancient piece of music now extant ; and having been the means of rescuing it from oblivion, I have thought it right to insert a copy of it in the Appendix. It is considered, by the ablest judges, to be a most beautiful air ; and the conclusions of both sections are accounted truly ancient and original. Every connoisseur in music will at once see, that the tune, from its simplicity, wildness and peculiar structure, must be an ancient composition. The bass was added to it by Mr Corri of Edinburgh.

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It must be admitted, that the conduct of Mr Macpherson tended to render the subject of the authenticity doubtful and mysterious ; for he struggled hard with his pride before a regard for the interests of truth induced him at last to leave behind him the original Gaelic poetry, expressly for the purpose of being published. Had he destroyed these manuscripts, his claims to be considered as the original author would have received such additional confirmation, as would have rendered it extremely difficult indeed, at the present moment, to have refuted them. He not only left the manuscripts, however, but also a legacy of one thousand pounds to his executor, John Mackenzie, Esq. to defray the expense of preparing for the press, and publishing the original poems.

Mr Mackenzie had many difficulties to encounter in carrying through this undertaking ; but he had made the necessary arrangements with Messrs Nicol and Bulmer as publishers, and a proof of the first sixteen pages had been actually printed and sent to him, when he unfortunately died.

As the publication of such a work was not consistent with the professional avocations of his executor, (Mr George Mackenzie, assistant surgeon to the 42d Regiment), he resolved to put the manuscripts into the hands of the Secretary of the Highland Society of London, for the purpose of publication. On the 17th of May 1804, a Committee was appointed to superintend the execution of the work. Being appointed Chairman \*, I resolved, that no time should be lost in carrying it on with energy. Many obstacles, however, occurred, to the speedy completion of the work. It was judged necessary to have, not only the several poems, but the arguments, or prefatory notices to each, translated into Latin. An eminent Latin and Gaelic scholar, Mr Robert Macfarlan, was employed for that purpose; but he was accidentally killed by a carriage in one of the contested Middlesex elections, and it was found extremely difficult to supply his place. The proofs also were sent to Scotland, to be revised by some eminent Gaelic scholars there. Some time was required, to enable me to complete the new evidence I had fortunately discovered in support of the authenticity; and it was not till the year 1807, that the whole work, in three volumes large octavo, was published. There was no literary undertaking, from the ultimate completion of which I derived more satisfaction. It had been asserted, by the celebrated Dr Samuel Johnson, “ That the poems of Ossian never existed in any other form than that which we had seen;—that the editor, or author, never could shew the original, *nor could it be shewn by any other*;—that it was too long to be remembered;—that the Gaelic language formerly had nothing written;—and that the editor, (Macpherson), had doubtless inserted names that circulated in popular stories, and might have translated some wandering ballads, if any could be found; and that the names, and some of the

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\* The other members of the Committee were Sir John Macpherson, Bart.; Sir John Macgregor Murray, Bart.; John Macarthur, Esq. of York Place, Portman Square, (who took an active part in the undertaking); Alexander Fraser, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, Secretary of the Society; and Mr Colin Macrae, of the Temple, the Deputy Secretary.

images being recollected, make an inaccurate auditor imagine, by the help of Caledonian bigotry, that he had formerly heard the whole \*."

There cannot be a more satisfactory answer to such groundless assertions, than the fact, that the Gaelic originals are now published; and in the opinion of those who are best acquainted with that language, the work not only furnishes complete internal evidence of its own originality, but is in fact greatly superior, in point of poetical merit, to the English version. The general question, therefore, is at length reduced to a very narrow compass, and may be discussed under the following heads:

1. Whether the late Mr Macpherson composed what are called the Poems of Ossian in English, and then translated them into Gaelic?

2. Whether the Gaelic was not the original, and the English a translation?

3. Whether that original is not genuine ancient poetry?

As to the first point, it is manifestly unlikely, that Mr Macpherson should first have composed what he calls the Poems of Ossian, in English, and that though he wished the world should believe he was the author of them, should take the trouble of translating them into Gaelic; and that he afterwards should leave behind him a Gaelic version for publication, bequeathing a sum of money for defraying the expense.

As to the second point, it will appear from an impartial and critical collation of the original Gaelic with the English version, that the Gaelic must necessarily have been anterior, and that the English translation by Macpherson, however much it has been admired, conveys in reality a very faint and imperfect idea indeed, of the singular merit, and peculiar beauties, by which the genuine poetry of the Celtic bard is so happily distinguished.

As to the third point, various circumstances are brought forward, to prove, that the Celtic tribes in general, were ad-

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\* Dr Johnson's Journey to the Western Isles, edit. 1798, p. 205.

dicted to poetry,—that various Gaelic poems did exist in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, in remote periods of our history,—that these poems were in a great measure said to have been composed by Ossian, a Scottish bard, who celebrated the exploits of Fingal, a Scottish warrior,—that some manuscripts did exist in Scotland, in which these poems were contained,—and that many persons preserved in their memory, a great store of Gaelic poetry, and, in particular, many poems ascribed to Ossian.

To these proofs, two additional circumstances are to be added, which I was fortunately the means of bringing to light; 1. That a manuscript of these poems did actually exist at Douay in Flanders, previous to Macpherson's collection; and, 2. That the existence of Swaran, and other personages mentioned in these poems, is authenticated by Danish historians.

It is proper here to state, that the publication of the original Gaelic, was greatly assisted by the generous and patriotic feelings of a number of public-spirited natives of Scotland, then resident in the East Indies, who, on the suggestion of that respectable character, Sir John Macgregor Murray, Bart. subscribed a sum of money, amounting, in all, to nearly one thousand pounds, towards defraying the expense of publishing the poems of Ossian in Gaelic. They were indignant at the attempt to rob ancient Caledonia of the honour which those sublime productions reflected upon her; and they remitted that sum, to prevent the publication from being prevented, by want of funds. Upon this donation being communicated to Mr Macpherson, he said, in reply, "I shall adhere to the promise, which I made to a deputation from the Highland Society, several years ago, that is, to employ my first leisure time, (and a considerable portion of time it must be, to do it accurately), in arranging and printing the originals of the poems of Ossian, *as they have come to my hands.*" This declaration seems to put the question of authenticity beyond all possibility of doubt; more especially when coupled with this circumstance, that the originals, which he pledged him-

self to prepare for the press, "*as they came to his hands,*" were actually left behind him for that purpose, with a sum of money adequate to the expenses of the publication.

Every impartial person who examines the original Gaelic must be satisfied of its authenticity. Not an instance can be recollected, of a fabrication being attempted, in a foreign language, or in a language supposed to be of an ancient period, where, upon an accurate examination, internal proofs of the forgery have not been discovered, in the very language even in which the forgery was attempted to be conveyed. Indeed, by a good critic, an original version is known from a mere translation or imitation, in the same way as a connoisseur in painting, distinguishes a copy, from an original of a Raphael, or of a Michael Angelo.

When the new translation is brought before the public, the following particulars will be distinctly proved: 1. That Mr Macpherson, in many instances, gave an erroneous translation; 2. That he frequently added many words or expressions, not to be found in the original; which additions have been mentioned as plagiarisms from other authors, and, consequently, as arguments against the authenticity of the poems; 3. That he left out some beautiful words and passages to be found in the original; 4. That he passed over many expressive words or phrases, which he found it difficult to translate; and, 5. That, on the whole, he did not do sufficient justice to the nervous simplicity and genuine beauties of the Celtic bard.

The first book of Fingal, as a specimen of a proposed new translation, was drawn up by the Rev. Dr Ross, and printed in the first volume of the Gaelic edition. It furnishes the strongest possible internal proofs, that the Gaelic was the original, and Macpherson's prose a loose, and in many parts a turgid, translation from that original. Upon comparing the two together, a celebrated critic, (Miss Baillie, the dramatic authoress), has well remarked, "That the new translation appears less pompous, more simple, and more appropriate than

that of Macpherson ; and besides being free from those particular images and forms of expression, which, in his, seem to be borrowed from other sources, it presents us with the story, and the images and sentiments that enrich the story, in a more distinct and defined manner, avoiding the great repetition of general epithets, which give to the other, notwithstanding all its beauties, a fatiguing sameness, of which many readers have complained. This, I should think, must impress the public at large with a belief, that the Gaelic copy is the original, and Macpherson's a translation,—a translation, too, by a writer of a different character from the elder poet. In confirmation of this opinion, I am sure that a poem, in imitation of Macpherson's translation, would be a much easier task to compose, than one in imitation of the new translation."

But though Macpherson's translation is evidently inferior to the new translation, (to the original it must be infinitely more so), and though his conduct in regard to Ossian is doubtless in many particulars reprehensible, yet he is certainly not without claims to merit. The same ingenious critic, above alluded to, has remarked, " That whatever marks of false taste, or of having misunderstood the original, may be found in his translation of Ossian, we are indebted to Mr Macpherson for having first introduced it to the world, and in a more attractive garb, than perhaps any other man could at that time have given to it. He has not always translated it as he ought, but he has at least pointed out to those who shall follow him, a way of doing it, which, without his aid, might not perhaps have been discovered. To him also we owe this Gaelic copy, which he might so easily have burnt, assuming to himself the honours of an original poet ; and for these good deeds, whatever his demerits may be in regard to other things, he ought not to be mentioned but with respect." These observations are just ; at the same time, even his admirers and friends must acknowledge, that Mr Macpherson might have acted a part more creditable to himself, and less likely to

prove injurious, to the fame of one of the greatest poets recorded in history.

Another authoress, distinguished by great talents, (Mrs Grant of Laggan,) expressed, in the following energetic terms, her approbation of my endeavours to do justice to the merits of Ossian, in the dissertation to prove his authenticity, prefixed to the Gaelic edition.

SIR,

I return your valuable work, which had with me the effect of making “assurance double sure,” in regard to the Ossianic remains. I hope the clear and complete evidence you have so industriously collected, and arranged in such lucid order, has confirmed the wavering, and in many instances converted the unbelieving. We Highlanders owe you much on this score. It was particularly hard, that we should be branded as a confederacy united in sanctioning an imposture, and that by those who never took pains to investigate the subject. This you have done in a manner honourable to your own candour, and generous to a class of your fellow-subjects, long neglected, and often misrepresented.

I have sent my Essay \*, which I think I should scarce have ventured to do without your encouragement, but will be for some time ignorant of its fate. Whatever that may be, your approbation will gratify my feelings, and sooth the disappointment I anticipate. I am, Sir, your obliged and faithful servant,

ANNE GRANT.

101. Prince's Street,  
29th February 1820.

I cannot conclude, without alluding to the high opinion entertained of the Poems of Ossian on the Continent, where no national prejudices were felt against their authenticity or merits. In England, under the banners of so powerful a

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\* The Essay, which regarded the character of the ancient Highlanders, received that reward from the Highland Society of London, which it justly merited.



leader as Dr Samuel Johnson, such was the violence of the hostile torrent, that nothing but the intrinsic beauties of the poetry, prevented the entire extinction of the work. But on the Continent, it was quite otherwise, for in France, Germany, and Italy in particular, ample justice was done to the transcendent beauties of the Celtic bard. There is none, however, to whom Ossian is under higher obligations, than to the celebrated Madame de Staël. In her excellent work, "*De la Literature*," she thus expresses herself: "Il existe, ce me semble, deux littératures tout-à-fait distinctes;—celle qui vient du midi, et celle qui descend du nord; celle dont Homère est la première source, *celle dont Ossian est l'origine* \*." She then gives her ideas of the merits of the latter poet.

If Madame de Staël entertained so high an opinion of the beauties of Ossian, in a defective version, the only one hitherto much known, what would she not have felt, had she perused it in an able translation? But every exertion shall now be made by myself, and the other admirers of Ossian, to do the Celtic bard that justice, by a new translation, which will place his name among the proudest of those who have hitherto adorned the fields of poetry, and reached its highest ranks.

The following two most important propositions shall then be established, beyond the possibility of doubt:

1. That the Poems of Ossian are authentic ancient poetry. And,

2. That in a remote period of our history, the mountains of Scotland produced a bard, whose works must render his name immortal, and whose genius has not been surpassed, by the efforts of any modern, or even ancient competitor.

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• Translation.

There exists, as it seems to me, two distinct descriptions of literature, one of which has its origin in the south, and the other in the north; of the first, Homer was the source, and of the latter, Ossian.

**PART XII.**

**CORRESPONDENCE WITH POLITICAL  
CHARACTERS,**

**AND REMINISCENCES REGARDING THEM.**

**VOL. I.**

**Y**



# **CORRESPONDENCE WITH POLITICAL CHARACTERS,**

**AND REMINISCENCES REGARDING THEM.**

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I FIND, in my repositories, letters from above two hundred members, who had sat in the two Houses of Parliament, with whom I had corresponded on political subjects, and none of whom are at this time living. Many of them are now forgotten as public men, and only a small proportion of their letters would be interesting to the general reader. I have selected, however, a few, which seem to me entitled to be preserved, either from the characters of the writers, or the circumstances to which they relate.

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## **I.**

### **PEERS.**

#### **1.—HUGH, SECOND DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.**

The late Duke of Northumberland was justly entitled to be highly esteemed, both as a public and a private character. In the subjoined letter, he gives a very interesting description of his public conduct and services, and the principles on which he acted; which seem to have been of a more independent description than is usually successful at a court.

*To the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*

Syon, 11th September 1814.

MY DEAR SIR,

My long-continued illness, and the frequently repeated relapses to which I have been subject for the last twelve months, have prevented me from returning you my thanks for the many notes, and much information which you have been pleased to send me. Was I younger, and in better health, I should be very anxious to attempt several improvements which are much wanted, particularly upon our stock farms in Northumberland. As it is, however, *I must leave it to Lord Percy to undertake those improvements*; for, at my time of life, the attempt would not be attended with any lasting benefit. I have, for upwards of half a century, endeavoured to render my country service in another line. The return and reward I have met with for such services, have certainly not been of the most encouraging nature for others to pursue the same line. I have had too much of the old northern chieftain in my disposition to become a favourite at the Horse Guards. Flattery, intrigue, and duplicity, I always despised. All jobs I detested; and never could smile in a man's face, whilst I meditated to do him an injury. I am, therefore, no longer fitted for the present age, and have retired quietly, to endeavour to spend my latter days in peace and comfort.

You, Sir John, more fortunate and more active, are determined, I see, to serve your country, and benefit mankind to the last. I congratulate both yourself and them upon this circumstance, and have pleasure to be, with high esteem, your most obedient servant,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

I felt a great desire to promote the agricultural improvement of the county of Northumberland, having many friends in that interesting district; and finding the farmers there a most respectable and intelligent body of men, I proposed the erection of an agricultural society in that county, and had

relied much on the assistance of the Duke of Northumberland in establishing so useful an institution. It appears, however, from the subjoined letter, that the time at which it was proposed did not appear to the Duke so favourable as it seemed to me; and unfortunately, when such a proposal meets with a check, it is seldom afterwards revived with much prospect of success. I believe, indeed, that no such society has ever since been attempted, though it might then have been established, had the Duke given it his support.

Syon, September 7. 1797.

DEAR SIR,

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 27th of August, for which I return you many thanks. I am a great friend to all agricultural improvements, and have always intended to propose to the county of Northumberland the formation of a society for that purpose, as soon as ever peace shall bring back again our present absentees \*. At present I should fear, what, with raising volunteers and paying taxes, people have very little time for any thing else, and less money to contribute towards experiments. I approve much of the idea of encouraging our breed of sheep, and whenever I am applied to by the persons concerned, will not only subscribe with pleasure, but give an annual premium likewise for promoting their very laudable intentions.

Having as yet heard nothing from them, I took it for granted that the farmers wished to keep the business entirely amongst their own class. I have the pleasure to be, Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Latterly, the Duke became so much of an invalid, that he gave up all connexion with public matters. In a communication to me, dated 19th December 1816, he informed me, that for the two preceding years he had been confined almost

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\* To bring back our *present absentees*, we must look to *war*, as the most likely means of effecting that object.

entirely to his room; and that after having devoted nearly sixty years of his life to the military service of his country, he thought that he had some claim, to pass the remainder of his days in peace and quiet.

2.—HUGH, EARL OF MARCHMONT.

This noble Lord was one of the most esteemed noblemen of his time. He was the intimate friend of Pope, the celebrated poet, and indeed had the honour of being nominated his executor. In the year 1787, I had formed a plan that seemed to me an improvement on the mode of elections in Scotland, by rendering them more popular; and I thought it right to submit that plan to the consideration of so experienced and distinguished a statesman as Lord Marchmont. His answer I subjoin. It is impossible not to feel highly gratified with the sentiment he expresses,—the propriety of preserving the respectability of Scotland.

Hemel Hempsted, 27th June 1787.

SIR,

I have received the favour of your communication of the 23d instant. I feel the honour of it as a mark of your regard; for you cannot but know, that my opinion is of no consequence. Your attention to me impels me, however, to acquaint you, that during the two periods of my public duty, my governing principle was, the preservation of that *respectability* of Scotland, which was the foundation of the Union, and of the protestant succession of the House of Hanover to the united Crown of Great Britain. How far this respectability may be affected, by diminishing the efficacy of persons in elections in proportion as their landed interest increases, is a consideration of peculiar importance to every Scotsman of property, as perhaps no Englishman since Lord Somers befriended it. My experience proved to me, that if this respect-

ability were lost, our elections would sink into mere scrambles, and our Union into a surrender at discretion, not only of even decent regard to our country, but of our share in the disposition of its Crown. I hope I have thus persuaded you, that I am, with perfect regard, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

MARCHMONT.

Lord Marchmont having lived to the advanced age of eighty-six, and having preserved his strength and faculties to the last, (indeed he rode out only five days before he died), I was desirous to ascertain the plan he pursued, and received the following information regarding it :

Lord Marchmont said, that he always lived as other people did ; but that he had laid down, when young, one maxim, to which he rigidly adhered, and to which he attributed much of his good health, namely, "*never to mix wines,*" but to restrict himself to one sort at a time. For many years he took nothing but claret. His physicians having forbid his taking that wine, on account of its acidity, he resolved to confine himself to Burgundy, and took a bottle of it every day for fifteen years.

A variety of wines is destructive to the stomach ; and every one knows, that after having taken one sort, it is impossible to have the same relish for another, or to derive the same pleasure from taking it. The one taste destroys the effect of the other. Taking a variety of meats is injurious, as they are digested at different periods ; and wine requires digestion as well as solid food.

### 3.—THE EARL OF ORFORD.

From similarity of pursuits, I had commenced a correspondence with George, Earl of Orford, who had paid parti-



cular attention to the improvement of wool. On that subject I received two letters from the noble Lord, fully proving his zeal in the cause.

*To Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*

Houghton, 22d March 1791.

SIR,

I am to acknowledge the favour of your letter inclosing your last publication, which I have given to be carefully perused by some considerable wool-growers in this neighbourhood.

I am extremely happy to hear, that you intend to honour me with your company at this place in Passion week, and I remain, with much truth, your most obedient and humble servant,

ORFORD.

His next communication was as follows :

Enshall, 19th July 1791.

SIR,

I beg your acceptance of three fleeces clipt from my hoggets on a farm in this neighbourhood, which I have directed to Edinburgh. If you choose to have any tups of my breeds, I can send them to Leith from Lynn; and I shall have great pleasure in supplying you.

I flatter myself with the hopes of seeing you in this part of the country, when you return into the south; and I remain, with great regard, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

ORFORD.

My valuable coadjutor having died soon after his having sent me the above, in the hurry of an extensive correspondence, I had accidentally addressed a letter to him, recommending to his attention a person in the agricultural line, which was opened by his successor. His polite acknowledgment of it I subjoin, as being an interesting communication, coming

from the celebrated Horace Walpole, who had then become Earl of Orford.

Berkeley Square, December 21. 1791.

SIR,

By the date of your letter, and by the subject of it, I perceive it was not intended for me, but for my nephew, the late Lord Orford, recently dead ; an error I could not discover till I had opened it.

I am sorry for the person you patronise, Sir, that I am equally incapable of serving him, and of seconding your views for the good of your country. I am as ignorant of agriculture, as my nephew might be knowing ; and I am so sensible of my inexperience, and of being too far advanced in years to learn any science adequately, that I shall certainly keep no land in my own hands ; and my nephew, not having lived long enough to find his improvements increase his estate, I shall be obliged to contract the number of his dependents, instead of augmenting them. Though I opened by mistake a letter not designed for me, I thought this explanation due to you, Sir, and especially that the person who brought it might not lose his time.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

ORFORD.

4.—MARTIN BLADEN, LORD HAWKE.

This respectable nobleman was as much distinguished by his zeal for agriculture, as his father was celebrated for his naval victories. Knowing well his anxiety to promote the improvement of the country, I took an early opportunity of communicating to him my plan for establishing “ A Board of Agriculture,” in answer to which, I had the pleasure of receiving from him the following letter :

DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged by the perusal of your plan, and perfectly agree with you in the benefits that will result from it. Agriculture is certainly very little understood at present; or at least, if the principles may be said to be understood, they are very little diffused, and confined only to a few places.

A spirit of combination and calculation are more necessary than even of industry and experiment. I do not think that we want good principles of cultivation in this country. We have sufficient industry, and rather too much experiment. While we consider the benefit of the introduction of some new grass, and contend whether a thick or a thin boned sheep is most beneficial to the breeder, we neglect the combinations and calculations of labour;—how to perform the greatest quantity of work in a farm with cattle, at the least expense;—how also to clean corn from the straw, without loss, and at the smallest cost, by means of machines;—how to construct stacks or ricks of corn in the most beneficial manner;—how to encourage the erection of Dutch barns for hay throughout the kingdom;—how to improve the hoeing of turnips by horses, so as to render the cultivation of them more general;—how to introduce more generally the cultivation of carrots and cabbages into the fields, in the garden style. An attention to all this would considerably increase the real riches of the kingdom; and by making every state more productive, would tend very much to keep down the price of provisions, and render them still reasonable, notwithstanding a great increase of population. Another great advantage would be derived from your plan: Government would be able to ascertain and draw a line between agriculture and manufactures. By giving too great an encouragement to the latter, the loss of hands is very often severely felt by the former. I am sure I speak within compass, when I say, that throughout the northern parts of the kingdom, from the want of hands last year at their harvest, their loss must have amounted to a sum very little short of five hundred thousand pounds, which is the rea-

son of the dearness of wheat, and the very high price of barley, equal to what good wheat sold for last year.

To prove to you how little we understand the calculation of labour, turn your eyes as you travel through the different counties of the kingdom, and you will see, that whether the soil be light or adhesive, or whatever its nature may be, every county adopts one universal mode in cultivating the ground; —the same kind of plough peculiar to the province, and the same strength of horses and men. Were your plan put in execution, the best modes of ploughing, and of the other things which I have mentioned in the former part of my letter, would be generally diffused and adopted throughout Great Britain.

I have often thought of something similar to your plan myself. I must confess I have only been diverted from carrying it into execution, by the present troublesome times, apprehensive that it might appear as a society formed for other purposes than those for which it was intended,—the real improvement of the agriculture and landed interest of Great Britain, and an amusement for myself in the pursuit of a favourite study. My idea was to have established a society of not more than fifty, nor of less than forty members; each member to have subscribed fifty guineas, and when the whole should have been subscribed, a secretary and clerks to have been chosen.

I flatter myself the society would have been attended with much good, and no detriment to the country. Certainly, should Government take the idea up on a liberal plan, much good will be derived from it; and though I should not wish to belong to it, yet I will always be very ready to communicate with you, and give you any answers in detail, to the best of my power. I have always the honour to remain, with much esteem and truth, Dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

HAWKE.

Portland Place,

Monday, April 29. 1793.

Though the noble Lord at first declined belonging to the

intended institution, yet he at last agreed, and became one of the ablest and most useful of its members.

5.—WILLIAM, LORD AUCKLAND.

There were few men in our time possessed of more creditable abilities for business than the late Lord Auckland. Having a great regard for him, when he was appointed Minister to negotiate a treaty of commerce with France, I resolved to give every assistance in my power, in order to enable him to accomplish that object.

Soon after his arrival in Paris, I received from him the following letter :

Hotel d'Elbeuf, Rue de Vangdeard, May 5.

DEAR SIR,

I send by this courier a large packet under Lord Caermarthen's cover, directed to you. I believe that it contains either books, or some specimens sent from his Most Christian Majesty's saltpetre works.

I am now beginning to feel myself arrived at this place. The first three or four weeks were a perpetual fever of business and ceremonies, added to the comfortless circumstance of being obliged twice to move a very large family of children, who are at length well arranged at a good house. Under these impediments, I have not had time to go farther into private societies, than my situation forced upon me ; *but I hear indirectly, of many respectable and well-informed friends whom you have in Paris, and shall be glad, in due time, to make my way towards them.*

If you have any commissions, be so good as to forward them to me from Lord Caermarthen's office, and I will execute them as well as I can. I am, with the highest esteem, Dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

WM. EDEN.

In a subsequent letter he says, " I return your book, with many thanks for all your kindnesses, of which I retain a cordial sense. If any thing occurs that I wish to trouble you about, you shall hear from me. In the meantime, with wishes for your health and happiness, I remain very sincerely yours,

(Signed) WM. EDEN.

Perth Street, Tuesday.

The following letter from Lord Auckland, on the subject of my Statistical Account of Scotland, was extremely gratifying:

Bechenhessm, Kent, July 15. 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

I yesterday received your letter, and the printed papers which accompanied it.

I shall have great pleasure in perusing the specimens of statistical reports. I consider them as exhibiting a course of inquiry of great importance to mankind, when pursued with that zeal, judgment and fidelity which distinguish your undertakings. If any thing occurs to me respecting those reports, or the other papers, which may merit your regard, I will not fail to take a minute of it; and I am willing to hope that we may again live to see a period of social security, in which the improvements of agriculture, and the arts of peace, may again go hand in hand with the blessings of just subordination, morality and religion. In the mean time, I admire the courage and right principles which enable you to go forward, as if the crisis which has lately menaced the overthrow of all civil institutions were completely and favourably ended.

This being the first summer that I have passed in England since the year 1785, I feel a strong attachment to my lawn and library; but I will avail myself of any occasion to wait on you when I can go to town; and I should at all times be happy to offer a plain dinner to you on my farm. I am, my Dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

AUCKLAND.

## 6.—CHARLES, LORD COLCHESTER.

His name was *Abbot*. Upon my congratulating him on the prospect of his being elected Speaker of the House of Commons, he said, “That is an honour to which I have no pretension.” “You must admit,” I answered, “that you have at least *alphabetical* claims to the office.”

He was possessed of distinguished talents, but was unfortunately diminutive in person. When he brought in his bill for ascertaining the population of the kingdom, he assured me, that it was altogether owing to my success in completing a similar inquiry in Scotland that he thought of it; and that he relied much on my aid in carrying the measure through.

Lord Colchester, when Speaker of the House of Commons, took an active part in a commission for carrying on various improvements in the northern parts of Scotland; and it was greatly owing to his exertions, that the plan was so successful. I had occasion to draw up a short account of those improvements, which I sent to the noble Lord for his remarks. His answer is subjoined. The words he wished to strike out were complimentary to him, and those I could not think of expunging; for he merited well all the encomiums which I had bestowed upon him.

London, 26th January 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your letter of 23d instant, received this day; and the letter intended for Mr Richman has been duly transmitted to him.

In the paragraph proposed for insertion in your work, I have taken the liberty to strike out some *words*, and to insert some *dates*, which will render the statement more complete for your purpose. Most truly yours,

COLCHESTER.

To the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair.

## 7.—LORD ORIEL.

The Right Honourable John Foster, afterwards created Lord Oriel, was for many years Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. He was one of the ablest men that Ireland has produced, and was greatly superior to the generality of his countrymen in capacity for business. We concurred most cordially in zeal for agriculture, and anxiety to promote its interest, on which we were convinced the prosperity of the empire depended. Having some idea of visiting Ireland in 1814, I had the pleasure of receiving the following communication from him respecting that excursion :

Cellon, March 18. 1814.

MY DEAR SIR,

I look forward with great satisfaction to the pleasure of seeing you here, and hope that, as far as you can, you will allow my house to have the honour of being your head-quarters.

I read with pleasure the paper you inclosed. Most of its contents agrees entirely with my sentiments, which flatters me much ; and I sincerely hope that the efforts of all the good friends of agriculture, and the good sense of the rest of the community, may put our corn system again upon its old principles, and establish it on a steady and permanent basis.

Lady Howard's state of health prevented me from attending the last session. I have the happiness of seeing it now so much better, that I have strong hope of being in my place when that subject shall come forward, and giving it every aid in my power.

I send you an authentic copy of our last year's exports of corn, meal and flour ; and I am persuaded that, with a proper security to our farmers, and a confidence in the permanency



of it, we could send double the quantity with ease. Believe me ever, my Dear Sir, most truly yours,

JOHN FOSTER.

Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

On his being created a peer, I took an early opportunity of congratulating him on that event, and received, in return, the following friendly reply :

Collon, Jan. 3. 1822.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

It is most grateful to my feelings to be so kindly remembered by you. Accept my best thanks for your congratulations.

You are a stout champion for the agriculture of the country, and I wait with impatience for a communication of those measures which occur to you, as a practicable system for restoring its prosperity. You also must oblige me by sending without delay a copy of the tract you mention.

Believe me to be, with sincere respect and esteem, ever yours most truly,

ORIEL.

#### 7.—JOHN, LORD SOMERVILLE.

One of the principal advantages of the establishment of a Board of Agriculture, and of the cattle shows which resulted therefrom, was, “ That farming became a fashionable amusement, and that many young men abandoned for it every other pursuit.” Among the most devoted to this most useful occupation, was John Somerville, Esq. who afterwards succeeded to the title and estates of Lord Somerville in Scotland. His favourite study was stock ; and in order to obtain a thorough knowledge of the best forms of our domestic animals, he resided for some time with a butcher, that he might

acquire all the knowledge which could be obtained in that branch of business. He made a strong application to me, to be one of the original members of the Board ; and though he was rather of young standing in that pursuit, I agreed to include him in the original list. It being resolved that we should have distinct reports drawn up of the several branches of agriculture, I pitched upon Lord Somerville to draw up the chapter on live stock. To a letter pressing him to complete the undertaking, I received the following answer :

Bath, December 6. 1794.

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry it will not be in my power to meet you in town as early as I wished, being confined to these waters for two months, for the cure of a bilious fever, which had very nearly sent me to study sheep and bullocks in the next world, and from which I am very little recovered yet. I heartily hope I shall be able to lend my small aid towards so excellent an undertaking, as the one in which we are engaged ; and I do not think that any sort of hurry in the arrangement of these reports, would be advisable, for many reasons. Should you be of the same opinion, I trust I shall be able to make up, in diligence, between Easter and Midsummer, for the want of other qualifications, more requisite perhaps, but of which I never was vain enough to think myself possessed. I have sent for the books you recommended ; but my bookseller could only send me the Complete Cow Doctor ; and from the little I have seen, I think it very ingenious. I have spared neither pains or expense to procure all books on the subject of stock ; among others the Spanish accounts of sheep, and all the travels into Africa, from the Cape of Good Hope. In both, much may be found worth attention.

I have received Billingsley's Reports, and found, just as I supposed, that in the western division where I live, and where farming is carried to great perfection, he has been short in his accounts, being a stranger to that part of Somersetshire.

Indeed, he told me as much in his letter. I assured him I would get it done justice to, in the marginal observations, which will come to the same thing. I have sent some copies down for that purpose. I found more difficulty in getting the farmers to make observations than I at first expected. Perhaps you have heard the same thing. I sent two reports to Mr Westear, the famous grazier; and though he promised me, in the summer, to assist us, he is afraid now, and begs to be off saying any thing.

There is a Mr Letchemere of Herefordshire, who has ever been famous as a breeder and grazier. He is a gentleman of large fortune, and ever was an admirer of good stock. From him, I think, you can expect the best assistance. I hope Mr Frazer, or some other person, has surveyed the *North of Devon*; for in his report not a syllable is said in it on the breed of the famous red cattle; and unless there is something said, I cannot get any comments from the farmers on the subject. Many are ready to make their observations in that neighbourhood; but there can be no superstructure without a foundation. The same observation holds good in the Buckingham survey on the subject of grazing. I should thank you very much for some information on this head, as well as to the time you expect the greater part of the observations in the reports, and when you think it probable the whole may be completed. I expect to hear from you in a few days; and am, with great esteem, Dear Sir, yours,

J. SOMERVILLE.

Lord Somerville was afterwards prevailed upon, but very reluctantly, to appear as a candidate to deprive me of my situation as President of the Board of Agriculture. He was informed, that if he did not come forward, some other candidate would be found, or that the Board would be abolished. I felt no resentment against him, on account of his conduct in that matter; and after his election, we remained on as friendly terms as before.

## II.

## COMMONERS.

## 1.—EDWARD LOVEDEN LOVEDEN, ESQ. M. P.

**With a proof, that trifling events may produce the most important consequences.**

It has often been remarked, that the greatest events are often produced by very insignificant causes. Of this a very striking instance occurred, connected with the late King's first illness, which I shall endeavour briefly to relate.

It was on the 20th of November 1788, that a notification was made to both Houses of Parliament, that his late Majesty, (George the Third), was no longer competent to perform the functions of the royal office ; and his incapacity was fully established by the examinations of his Majesty's medical attendants, before committees of both Houses. After considerable delays, in consequence of a claim which had been maintained in both Houses, that the Prince of Wales was entitled to assume the Regency, both Houses at last declared the King's incapacity. Mr Pitt, the Minister, then gave notice, that he would propose his plan of a Regency to the House of Commons, on the 6th of January next, (1789.) The particulars having been so often fully debated in both Houses, it was not supposed that the bill would occasion much discussion. It was calculated that it would pass in less than a fortnight, (the bill, indeed, afterwards remained only six days in the House of Commons) ; and that, in a very short time, the King's authority would be abrogated.

About this time, in conjunction with Lord Moira, I had formed a political party of respectable members of both Houses, with a view of promoting some public objects, which we had

in contemplation. Among those who joined us was Mr Loveden, member for Abingdon in Berkshire, who was considered a highly respectable country gentleman, and who, having occasionally stated his sentiments to the House in a manly and spirited manner, had come to be regarded as a kind of leader among his own class.

This party happened to dine together on the 5th of January, the day before Mr Pitt's intended motion; and Mr Loveden, who had arrived in London only that morning, attended at dinner, and by accident sat at table next to me. We of course discussed the great subject which then engrossed all public attention, when he told me, "That his friends in Berkshire were greatly dissatisfied with the proceedings in Parliament, and wished much for another examination of the physicians regarding the state of the King's health." He added, "that if I would second the motion, he would move, next day, for another examination."

The least difficulty on my part would have prevented the motion; but as the nation had not suffered from the delays that had already taken place, it appeared to me, that no detriment was likely to arise from a short additional delay. I therefore encouraged him to make the motion, and agreed to second it.

When Mr Pitt therefore rose on the day after, to propose his plan of a Regency, Mr Loveden moved that the physicians should be again examined, on the ground, "that the intended limitations would necessarily have a reference to the state of his Majesty's health, and that several weeks had elapsed since that had been ascertained, which rendered a new examination necessary, before proceeding any farther in so momentous a question. After much discussion, a new committee was actually appointed. Their report was made on the 13th of January, and on the 16th it was appointed to be taken into consideration. A delay of eleven days in the progress of the business was thus obtained; and though Mr Pitt explained to the House his plan on the 16th of January, it

was not till the 6th of February that the Regency bill was brought in. On the 12th of February, however, it was carried to the House of Lords, and read a second time without opposition. But before the bill had made any farther progress, the necessity of appointing a Regency was put an end to by the King's recovery. There is every reason, however, to believe, that had it not been for the delay of eleven days occasioned by Mr Loveden's motion, the Regency bill would have passed. The delay was of more importance than is generally known, the King having afterwards declared, that if he had been found incapable of exercising the royal functions, by a solemn act of the Legislature, no earthly consideration would ever have induced him to have resumed them, from a dread that his complaints might return, which the labour and vexation attending public business was likely to promote. The power of Mr Fox and his party would then have been permanently established; and all those momentous events, which depended so much on Mr Pitt continuing in power, would have taken a quite different turn.

From a great number of letters received from this friendly correspondent, I have selected the following specimen, as it contains a short statement of Franklin's defence of agriculture, which cannot be too well known :

Buscot Park, 3d March 1807.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

As soon as your wish for Mavor to see your Code of Agriculture was made known to me, I sent the different parts to Woodstock, but have not heard from him since. He may probably be here at or before Easter. Could you contrive to meet him? Wheat is much improved in appearance, but we want dry weather for bean setting. I have been amused lately by reading Dr Franklin's works. He says there seem to be but three ways by which wealth can be acquired by a nation. The first by war, as the Romans did, by plundering their conquered neighbours. This is robbery. The second by com-

merce, which is generally cheating. The third by agriculture, the only honest way, for man thus receives a real increase of the seed thrown into the ground, by a kind of continued miracle, wrought by the hand of God in his favour, as a reward for his innocent life and his virtuous industry. He who puts a seed into the earth is recompensed perhaps by receiving forty out of it; and he who draws a fish out of the water draws up a piece of silver. If you will look into Evelyn's *Silva*, 4to edit. published by Hunter, you will find, page 230, some curious observations on the foliation of trees, and Linnæus' exhortation to his countrymen carefully to attend thereto, that the husbandman may watch the proper time for sowing.

There is a general complaint among the dairymen that they cannot sell their cheese. The country factors are in a conspiracy together, and will not give more than 36s. *per* cwt. for that called in London single Gloucester; and yet I observe, in the *Farmer's Journal*, the price of such stated at 56s. to 66s. Pray thank your son for his kind letter to me, and present my daughter's acknowledgments for his *frank* attention. Every thing very dull in the country. No money to be had; but we continue to keep the poor at work. I hope your granddaughter and her mother are doing well. I am ever, Dear Sir John, truly yours,

E. L. LOVEDEN.

2.—GEORGE DEMPSTER, ESQ. OF DUNNICHEN, M. P.

I did not know, in all my long experience, any character more truly respectable, than the late George Dempster. He was an excellent scholar,—well acquainted with several important modern languages,—conversant in all the principal branches of useful science,—and, to crown the whole, he was justly entitled to be considered both an accomplished gentleman, and a benevolent man. He had a peculiar felicity in expressing his thoughts in writing; and when speaking on

any interesting subject, his manner, tone of voice, fervour, sincerity, and the candour with which he seemed to be animated, operated like a charm, and gained on every heart. He spoke without the least premeditation, and was always listened to with attention and delight.

In many questions, he differed from the party to which he was firmly and honourably attached ; but as it was well known, that the strongest inducements could not warp his integrity, he obtained, what was the height of his ambition, and his best reward, the general esteem of the House, of which he was so great an ornament.

He died in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and his friends had the satisfaction of knowing, that no man in his time had left the world more generally applauded, or more deservedly admired.

Our correspondence together was so frequent, that a single volume would scarcely contain it ; and it would not be easy, among such a number of epistles, to select the best : but there is one which I think well entitled to peculiar attention. I happened to write Mr Dempster a letter, in which it was stated, that among the many services which he had performed to Scotland, there were two that seemed to me peculiarly entitled to the gratitude of his country. One of these was, his having introduced into Scotland the plan of sending fish to London in ice ; and the other was, his having been the means of establishing the cotton manufacture in the west of Scotland, with all the improvements which the celebrated Arkwright had discovered. I wished him, therefore, to send me the particulars of both these events, that if I survived him, I might have the satisfaction of communicating them to the public. As this has proved to be the case, I have now the pleasure of laying before the reader, the letter which Mr Dempster wrote me, in compliance with that request.



Dunnichen, Forfar, 21st January 1800.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

You desire to know the history of fish being carried to London in ice. I sit down with great pleasure to give it you, that it may be authentically known to whom our country is indebted for that branch of commerce. Mr Richardson of Pitfour inserted a letter on that subject in the newspapers, which will be found in the Appendix to the Scotch Magazine, 1786, p. 656, which contains some information concerning it. But I am able to give you some particulars of an earlier date, by which this discovery will be found, like many others of more importance, to have been very accidental. One day, about the year 1784 or 1785, Mr Alexander Dalrymple, a faithful servant to the East India Company, and I, were shewn into one of the waiting rooms at the East India House, Leadenhall Street. During our attendance there, among other interesting matters respecting his voyages, Mr Dalrymple told me the coasts of China abounded with snow houses: That the fishers of China carried snow in their boats, and by means thereof, were able, in the heat of summer, to convey fresh sea fish into the very interior parts of China. I took pen and ink, and on the spot wrote an account of this conversation to Mr Richardson, who, as well as others, has been in the practice, ever since, of conveying salmon in ice from the river Tay to London, and from Aberdeen, Montrose, and Inverness, voyages of 5, 6, and 700 miles. In Mr Richardson I found a very grateful correspondent; for soon afterwards I received, on a new-year's day, a letter from him, containing a draft on his banker for L. 200, to purchase a piece of plate for Mrs Dempster, and every year since the discovery, one of the finest Tay salmon is conveyed to me monthly, and free from all expense, by that gentleman's order, during the whole fishing season. This accident also, enabled me to repay, many acts of kindness which I had received, during my political career, from him and his connections in the town of Perth, and laid the foundation of an intimacy with him, which will sub-

sist during our lives ; so that, of all who have profited by this lucrative branch of trade, my profits have been the surest, and of the most valuable kind.

You likewise wish to know the circumstances, of the bringing of the spinning of cotton by mills, according to Sir Richard Arkwright's method, into our part of the kingdom. I cannot trace that business to its very source, for cotton was spun by mills at Pennycuik in Mid Lothian, and in the Isle of Bute, before ever I had heard of such an invention. But as I had some concern in engaging Sir Richard to instruct some of our countrymen in the art, and also to take a share in the great cotton-mills of Lanark and Stanley, it may not prove unentertaining to one of your turn for statistical inquiries, to mention a few particulars to you ; more especially as mere accident occasioned my having any concern in that matter.

Ever since the tax on post-horses, it had been my custom, to perform my journeys to and from Parliament, with my own carriage and horses, making time, as other mechanics do, supply my want of pecuniary power. To amuse my wife and myself, and to rest my horses, I generally halted a few days at the different watering places by the way ; and in the year, I think, 1796, being particularly captivated with the romantic scenery of Matlock, we staid a week or ten days there. In the course of a forenoon's ride, I discovered, in a romantic valley, a palace of a most enormous size, having, at least, a score of windows of a row, and five or six stories in height. This was Sir Richard Arkwright's (then Mr Arkwright) cotton-mills. One of our mess-mates being known to the owner, obtained his permission to see this stupendous work. After admiring every thing I saw, I rode up to Mr Arkwright's house,—knocked at the door. He answered it himself, and told me who he was. I said my curiosity could not be fully gratified, without seeing the head from whence the mill had sprung. Some business brought him soon after to London. He conceived I had been useful to him ; and

offered to assist me in establishing a cotton-mill in Scotland, by holding a share of one, and instructing the people. Private business carried him the following summer to Scotland, where he visited Perth, Glasgow and Lanark, and, I believe, Stanley, for I was not then in Scotland. Mr Dale and I became partners in mills to be erected at Lanark. A company of five or six Perth gentlemen, he and I, entered into partnership in mills to be built at Stanley in Perthshire. Some misunderstanding happening between him and Mr Dale, which they submitted to me, I met them both at Sir Richard's house at Cromford, in December 1786. Each gentleman offering to take the whole concern, and to take my share also, I awarded the whole to Mr Dale, as being most convenient for him to manage. Mr Dale thinking, I had made him a valuable gift of my share, offered me L.1000 Sterling, by way of equivalent for it; but I was too glad to be rid of so extensive a concern to accept of any compensation for it. Sir Richard instructed Mr Dale's artists and young children gratis, as he also did those sent from Stanley. From this last concern I never was able to extricate myself, although it was my intention so to do, as soon as it should become profitable to the adventurers. Mr Arkwright resigned. The war surprised us just when we were beginning to reap the profit of our labours. The price of cotton rose, the value of cotton-yarn fell, and considerable loss was incurred. In the year 1799 the company was dissolved, and those admirable mills are now on sale. In the meantime, the weaving and printing of every species of cotton-cloth, took deep root in Glasgow, Paisley, Perth, and other places in Scotland. You may be informed, from Mr Dale, of its extent and progress; for I only know, in general, that the manufacture of muslins, flowered and plain, of long-cloths, resembling linen, and coarse cloth for printing, have all been brought to great perfection, and continue to be a valuable and extensive source of employment and riches to our manufacturers.

I mentioned, in my letter of yesterday, that I am not only

a bad hand for subscribing myself to public works, but, if possible, still a worse solicitor of subscriptions. From the first institution of the Fishery Society, to this day, I never asked any body to subscribe or become adventurers in that society.

Your planting project ought to be for 60 or 100 years. Every solid foot of wood that stands till that time will be worth one shilling. Fifty trees *per* acre at least may stand till that age, and each contain at least fifty solid feet of timber. This, besides all the intermediate profits from thinnings of less age, would yield the company £.150 *per* acre, for what may be planted by contract for £.4 or £.5. With every good wish for success to the plough, I remain, with sincerity and attachment, my Dear Sir John, yours, &c.

GEORGE DEMPSTER.

I shall only add, that next to the pleasure of doing good one's self, nothing can be more gratifying, than to do justice to the benevolent and public-spirited actions of others.

### 3.—SIR GEORGE SHUCKBURGH EVELYN, BART. M. P.

Among the members of the House who were included in the class of country gentlemen, there was none more respected than Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn. We lived on such friendly terms, that on his death I was presented with a mourning ring. In returning my thanks to his daughter, for so obliging a mark of her attention, I stated, "that I considered Sir George to be one of the worthiest and most respectable characters of my political acquaintance, and that I regretted his death, not only as a loss to his family and friends, but to his country; for, that so truly an independent member of Parliament was rarely to be met with in these times."

The following communication proves the friendly terms on which we corresponded together:

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you kindly for your obliging letter, accompanied by the printed account of the improvements in Caithness. I can only say, "Go on and prosper."

"Macte nova virtute, Puer, et te quoque possis  
"Tollere humo, victorque virum volitare per ora."

You will do more to improve the interior of this kingdom, than all the herd of politicians have done for these fifty years.

With respect to the great measure of peace, I consider it as the salvation of this country, and a blessing to the human race.

Of the terms, people entertain different opinions. Their objections appear to me to flow from corrupt motives of extinct interest, or mortified ambition.

What has hitherto passed in Parliament, you will hear better from the papers than from my relation. Wyndham made a strange speech, *Burke* all over, and in *his* worst manner.

Rumours are many and various, respecting the present administration and its permanence, and of divers opponents, which I do not believe are true. It has even been said, that a great person secretly disapproves the peace. A dissolution of Parliament is likewise talked of soon after Christmas. But all this I send you as mere rumour.

I wish I could tell you that my health was better than when I saw you; but I have discovered it answers no purpose to complain. I came to town to attend the meeting of Parliament. The articles are to be discussed on Tuesday; and after that I propose returning into Sussex. In the mean time, I am, my Dear Sir, your obliged and faithful friend,

G. SHUCKBURGH EVELYN.

Oct. 31. 1801,  
Park Street, Westminster.

## 4.—SIR JOHN MACPHERSON, BART. M. P.

There was no individual who more zealously encouraged me, to persevere in the laborious pursuits I had undertaken, than Sir John Macpherson. By his merit, he had raised himself high in the service of the East India Company, and for a short period filled the important office of Governor of Bengal. On his return to Europe, he visited the principal courts on the Continent, and for some time was much in the confidence of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The ardour of his friendship towards me is strongly proved by the following communication :

Farm, near Tunbridge Wells, June 27. 1807.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

I was truly happy to hear of your being returned by your native county to Parliament. That county of the *Catti* knows how to respect itself. Have you heard from my favourite youth? and has he seen my favourite Archduke?

You will be now all debaters in St Stephen's shop, and for the public good; yet Europe can never have *rest* or prosperity till she returns to OUR *armed neutrality pacific plan*, circulated in French and English in March 1797.

Go on with your united military and agricultural labours, and *they* will aid to give that *longevity* to Britannia which you have been usefully explaining to her children. The lives of states and individuals are lengthened and shortened by corresponding causes. Your life as a *traveller*, a *financial historian*, an *armed yeoman*, a *parliament man*, and a *president of a board of agriculture*, has been as useful as it has been various in its pursuits;—not forgetting your own rising generation, and your statistical labours. Continue; and may good, and every satisfaction, attend your liberal pursuits.

I will address to you, and, if you see proper, to your Board, the statistical account of this parish; and the plan I had la-

boured to render an exemplary and defensive one, and which, singular to tell, became *imitated in other countries*, when it was overlooked in this country. Your great landed proprietors, thought it had too much of *levelling equality* in it, *expensively* and *defensively*; so it died a natural death. You will all be of a different opinion soon, and perhaps when it is too late.

I beg of you to frank the inclosed, to worthy Sir John Murray, and say to our Highland secretary, Mr Macrae, “ That I cannot attend the Ossianic meeting, and that the original he mentions never found its way to me. The late Mr Mackenzie may have had it.” Your Ossianic labours will do good. They raise the mind to ancient noble ideas,—ideas prior to the corruptions of civilization. They likewise raise our characters abroad. Vive, vale, fave. Yours truly,

JOHN MACPHERSON.

5.—SIR BROOK WATSON, BART. M. P. ALDERMAN OF LONDON.

This respectable magistrate, when a youth, having gone to the West Indies, had one of his limbs unfortunately bit off by a shark, and was saved with the greatest difficulty. He was compelled in consequence to give up active pursuits, and to betake himself to commerce, in which he was eminently successful. He was fortunately Lord Mayor of London when the Bank restriction took place, and greatly contributed, by his good sense and energy of character, to prevent any disagreeable consequences resulting from that operation.

Having sent him the Prospectus of my Code of Health, I had the pleasure of receiving, in return, the following communication. It is peculiarly interesting, from the accounts he gives of his mode of life, so little to be expected in a London Alderman. It sufficiently proves, what may be done by firmness of character, even in the most trying and tempting circumstances.

London, 21st January 1805.

DEAR SIR,

It gives me pleasure to learn, by your letter of the 15th instant, that bettered health, allows the natural energy of your mind, its full scope of activity, for the benefit of society. The work, of which you have kindly sent me the prospectus, under your orderly arrangements will, I doubt not, prove highly useful to the world. My own good constitution, guarded by a disposition naturally moderate in all things, has braved all climates, and left me, at the age of seventy, free from bodily complaint. To the faculty I have not paid five shillings a-year, for the course of my life; hence I have not been under the necessity of studying the important subjects of *health and longevity*.

But from general observation I am convinced, that an immoderate use of food, however simple, produces more diseases than hard drinking; and that over exercise is as bad as none. I knew a lady, who, from an accident when a child, was wheeled about in a garden chair, in good air, eighty-six years, without a day's illness. My own food never exceeds fourteen ounces in twenty-four hours. You will say this is most strange in an alderman;—*but I keep to early hours*. I am, Dear Sir, your very faithful,

BROOK WATSON.

6.—SIR WILLIAM PULTENEY, BART. M. P.

There was no member in the House who was more looked up to than Sir William Pulteney. He took a great delight in constant application to business, in which he was trained from his youth, being bred to the Scotch bar. By an accident, he married the heiress of the great Pulteney property; but after that immense acquisition, he still retained his old penurious habits, and, having been accustomed to live on £.200 a-year, he thought it great extravagance, to spend £.2000 *per*



*annum*, when he might have spent £. 20,000. I believe that he never gave a vote in Parliament without a thorough conviction that it was right; and men of that description, deservedly acquire great influence in a popular assembly.

I had prevailed upon him to take an active concern in the management of the Society for promoting the British fisheries; and, in particular, in the establishment of a settlement at Wick, in Caithness, which has now become the centre of the greatest herring fishery in Europe. In answer to a letter upon the subject of a harbour which I proposed should be erected at Wick, I received the following communication:

Westerhall, 7. Sept. 1790.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter, addressed to London, only reached me here by last post. I have not received the printed report concerning wool, and the appendix. Nothing can be done as to Wick harbour, till the Directors meet with Parliament. I know nothing of the statistical inquiry. If all your good projects for the country succeed, you will, I dare say, find out new projects, and will never think of being quiet, whilst you have the power of activity. Dempster is still busy, and usefully employed, though I wish that he was still in Parliament. I am, Dear Sir, yours always,

WILLIAM PULTENEY.

Sir William was fond of speculation, and was thence induced to purchase an immense tract of country, in the back settlements of North America. It was contiguous to the Indian territories; and having heard that "*Thaydenegea*," or Joseph Brant, the celebrated Indian warrior, had a great respect for me, he requested me to send a letter, recommending his agent, Mr Williamson, who had the management of his American property, to the friendship of that powerful chieftain. In a communication, dated London, 22d June 1791, he thanked me for my letter "*to the Indian Warrior*,"

which I afterwards heard Mr Williamson had found extremely serviceable.

I was very anxious that Sir William should be appointed one of the commissioners for the issue of Exchequer bills, granted for the relief of the commercial interest. In the management of that great financial operation, his attention to, and knowledge of business, was highly serviceable. When the plan was fairly commenced, I went to Scotland, to examine upon the spot the state of that part of the kingdom, and the means of relieving any commercial distresses which might be felt there. Having requested Sir William to inform me how matters proceeded in my absence, I had the pleasure of receiving from him the following communication :

London, 3d June 1793.

DEAR SIR JOHN,

We have been going on pretty well *in your absence*. The country applications have not amounted to so much as we expected. I think, before you went, the sums applied for were about two millions, many of which were from the country ; and the subsequent applications on the Monday, which was first for the country applications, did not exceed L.500,000. We have not yet issued above one million, and yet much good has certainly been done ; indeed the failures were stopped even by the bringing in the bill.

As the three months' Exchequer bills may be payable before things are got round, I am anxious that the two chartered banks of Scotland may apply for a large loan, in order to enable them to discount bills for the manufacturers, for answering the three months' Exchequer bills. The new act will enable them to borrow ; and you should urge the Directors of both banks, to step forward to save the country.

I am applied to, by Dr Adair, who is about to sail for America, to receive a large property belonging to his wife, as a co-heiress. He wishes to have a letter from you to Mr Adams, the Vice-President. Dr Gregory of Edinburgh

wrote to me strongly concerning him, and he will inform you about him. I think him a man of talents, and much candour. I shall give him some letters; but yours to Mr Adams will be of most service, and I hope you will send them immediately, as the ship is put up for sailing the end of this week. I am, Dear Sir John, your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM PULTENEY.

It was exceedingly gratifying, to receive such favourable accounts of the successful commencement of this fortunately projected measure. In regard to Sir William's application for a letter of introduction to the Vice-President of the United States, in favour of Dr Adair, it was immediately complied with.

7.—DAVID RICARDO, ESQ. M. P.

Among the authors who have of late distinguished themselves in the department of political economy, there is none who has displayed more acuteness and ability than the late Mr Ricardo. We disagreed, it is true, on several particulars, and in some points of considerable importance; but this did not prevent our carrying on an intercourse together on friendly terms, being convinced, that whatever might be the difference of opinion between us, both were equally anxious to promote the public good.

As the communications of so distinguished an author, on so momentous a subject as circulation, are peculiarly valuable, I think it right to insert them in this collection, with some occasional remarks, that the public may have an opportunity of judging for themselves, regarding the points we discussed.

I had conceived the idea, that much information on the subject of circulation might be obtained from the members of the Stock Exchange, and had requested Mr Ricardo to inform me, who were the proper persons to apply to. In an-

swer to that application, I received the following letter from Mr Ricardo. The names of the gentlemen he mentioned are left blank, to prevent insidious comparisons.

## No. 1.

Gatcomb Park, Minchin-Hampton, 31st October 1814.

DEAR SIR,

I have not quite given up the Stock Exchange ; but for a few months in the year, I mean to enjoy the calm repose of a country life.

Though I have a few acres of land in hand, I am not yet become a farmer. I leave the management of them wholly to others, and hardly take sufficient interest in what is going on, to make it probable that I shall ever be conversant with agricultural subjects.

The Stock Exchange is chiefly attended by persons who are unremittingly attentive to their business, and are well acquainted with its details ; but there are very few in number who have much knowledge of political economy, and consequently they pay little attention to finance, as a subject of science. They consider more, the immediate effect of passing events, rather than their distant consequences. Amongst the most enlightened, I should name Mr ———, Mr ———, Mr ———, and Mr ——— ; but I cannot answer that they will be able to afford time, or feel sufficient zeal, to engage in financial discussions. I am going to write to my brother, Ralph Ricardo, who is a member of the Stock Exchange, and I will request him to mention your wish to the above gentlemen, so that they will be prepared for any application you may make to them. I am, Dear Sir, your obedient and humble servant,

DAVID RICARDO.

## No. 2.

11th May 1820.

SIR,

I agree with you on the benefits resulting from a paper, instead of a coin circulation, *and I never wish to see any other established in this country*; but we differ on the means of regulating its value and amount. That I think is to be done best, by making it exchangeable for bullion, at a fixed rate. I do not deny that the public has suffered much pressure from the limitation of circulation, but Parliament is not responsible for more than about 5 or 6 *per cent.* of that pressure, the limitation having taken place, and the currency having risen in value, to within 5 or 6 *per cent.* of the mint value, before the Bank Committee was appointed. An increase of currency now, would undoubtedly lower its value, raise all prices, and very much lighten taxation; but no measure could, I think, be more impolitic.

It would be unjust to all creditors, and proportionally advantageous to debtors. If the payment of the interest of the national debt is a greater burden than we can bear, which I think it is not, and cannot well be, the fair way would be, to compound with the public creditor, and not make him only a pretended payment.

Respecting the paying off the national debt, we do not materially differ. I would pay it off entirely, and never allow any new debt, on any pretence whatever, to be contracted. You would only pay off a part, and would not object to contract a fresh debt, on any pressing emergence. You would not exempt foreigners from the necessary contribution. I would. You calculate that we consume as much corn, and other things, when prices rise from a scarcity, as when they are cheap from abundance. This I think impossible. If there were an equal consumption, there could be no scarcity, and consequently no rise of price. You would give the home grower of corn the monopoly of the home market, while the operation of paying the debt is going on. I would, when it

was completed, take off all restrictions on importation. I would leave the law as it is during the paying off, and would gradually take off all restrictions afterwards. To induce capital, by a monopoly, to go into agriculture, and then remove it afterwards, would be attended with ruin to the agriculturists. The restrictions, I think, should not be increased, with a view, finally, to get rid of them.

I fear that no plan for paying off the debt will receive any countenance from Parliament. Men do not like to make an immediate sacrifice for a future good; and they please themselves with imaginary riches, from which they really derive no advantage. Are not these imaginary riches, from the possession of which we only derive a revenue, which we are immediately obliged to pay to the tax-gatherer? I remain, Sir, your faithful servant,

DAVID RICARDO.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

#### REMARKS.

This letter refers to a number of important particulars, which cannot be fully discussed in a publication like the present. I must therefore restrict myself to some cursory hints.

1. I agree with Mr Ricardo, that we should have nothing but a paper circulation, exchangeable into bullion at a fixed rate; but the question is, at what rate? It seems to me in the highest degree impolitic to return to the old rate established in the reign of Queen Anne; for the value of the precious metal ought to rise, like every thing else, and the higher it can be made the better, so as to promote abundant circulation and high prices.

2. It is not denied that the value of gold had risen to within 5 or 6 *per cent.* of the mint value, before the Bank Committee was appointed; but this was altogether owing to the Bank Directors being compelled to purchase gold, from their apprehension of the proceedings of the approaching Committee, and the measures it was expected they would recom-

mend. Besides, it is quite a mistake to suppose, that the fall in prices entirely depended upon the fall in the standard price of gold.

3. It seems to me another mistake to say, that it is better to reduce the interest of the public creditor, than to pay him in a depreciated currency. When he is paid his full demand in a depreciated currency, the loss is not materially felt. The creditor who receives it, pays his taxes, his servants, his medical, and various other expenses, in that currency, without any loss. If he has any other property, in lands, or houses, or mines, &c. the income he derives from them is augmented;—the stock he holds is increased in value. In short, he loses hardly any thing by the transaction; whereas, if his income is diminished, he loses, in all these respects, in the same proportion.

4. The effect of borrowing money, instead of raising the expenses of a war within the year, seems to me to be of great advantage, and is fully explained in the History of the Revenue, vol. i. part 2, chap. 2. The plan may be liable to some objections, but so are all human regulations.

5. It is a mistake to suppose that I calculated that corn, and other commodities, were consumed, in as great quantities, in times of scarcity, as in times of abundance; my calculations were of an average description.

6. The concluding paragraph, in Mr Ricardo's letter, is highly important; and I have no doubt, that no objections would be made to the payment of debt, if the taxes were, at the same time, proportionally reduced.

No. 3.

56, Upper Brook Street, 15th June 1821.

DEAR SIR,

Your plan is neither more nor less than a proposal to depreciate the currency 20 *per cent*. If I could consent to such a measure, I should propose to do it openly, without disguise; but I do not think such a plan necessary or expe-

dient, and confidently expect, that in no long time, we shall surmount all our difficulties. I remain your obedient servant,

DAVID RICARDO.

This is an important communication. It proves Mr Ricardo's opinion to have been, "*That in no long period, from June 1821, all our difficulties would be surmounted.*" On the contrary, it can hardly be doubted, that they have since been materially increased. The misfortune is, that the more our difficulties increase, the more pertinaciously, in the opinion of some, ought we to adhere to those measures, to which those distresses are to be attributed.

No. 4.

Gatcomb Park, Minchin-Hampton, 29th January 1822.

DEAR SIR,

You are fully aware that you and I do not agree in our opinion of the causes of the present agricultural distress, nor in our views of the remedies which it would be expedient to apply to it. We agree still less on the disadvantage which you suppose to have resulted to the importer of corn, from the increased value of the currency. The question you put to Mr Attwood is not a fair one; for the same cause which would elevate the exchange from 18 to 25, would lower corn from 40s. to 28s. 9d. *per* quarter, and it would be a matter of indifference to the foreign exporter of corn to England, if he sold it at 40s., and negociated his bill at 18 francs *per* pound Sterling, or sold it at 28s. 9d., and negociated his bill at 25 francs. Is it not a fallacy to suppose money so to rise in value that gold should appear to fall from £. 5, 10s. to £. 3 : 17 : 10½, the exchange rise from 18 to 25, and yet suppose wheat to remain steadily at 40s. *per* quarter? I remain, Dear Sir, your faithful and obedient servant,

DAVID RICARDO.



This is the most important communication of the whole. It states it to have been Mr Ricardo's opinion, that the price of corn depends upon the rate of exchange, whereas the exchange only regulates the rate at which the price can be drawn for. In order to settle the question, I employed an author distinguished for the accuracy of his statistical researches, (Mr Marshall), to examine the point; and the result of his inquiries has been, that there is no foundation whatever for Mr Ricardo's opinion. I procured for Mr Marshall the average price of wheat for thirty years preceding 1829, which he compared with the rate of exchange with Paris, during that period; and it thence appeared, that the price of wheat was not at all affected by the rate of the exchange, and that the doctrines laid down by Ricardo on the subject are completely visionary.

This is exactly the style in which all theorists proceed, by which they deceive themselves, and if they are listened to, do so much public mischief. Confident in their own talents, they think they can foresee what will happen *in the most complicated concerns*, the result of which depends upon *a variety of unlooked-for circumstances*, which they will not condescend to inquire about, or to take into account. Facts, therefore, are left out of consideration, and hence they are so often egregiously mistaken. Mr Ricardo was certainly an able man, and has thrown much light on the doctrines of political economy; but he was unfortunately led to adopt opinions, which, in Parliament, he supported with much ingenuity, but which have greatly contributed to the distresses we now experience.

In regard to the plan in which we concur, that of having a currency entirely paper for all sums exceeding one pound in amount, but convertible into gold at a high standard, say five pounds *per* pound in gold, and in silver at eight shillings *per* ounce, it seems to me the perfection of human policy, on the subject of circulation.

## 8.—SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY, M. P.

This able lawyer, and eloquent member of the House, unfortunately fell into a bad state of health, which I hoped it might be in my power to alleviate. I sent him, therefore, some hints, which, it appears from the subjoined letter, he took in very good part. His untimely fate was universally lamented.

DEAR SIR,

I ought long since to have returned you thanks for your valuable advice, but when I received it I was too ill to acknowledge your kindness, and I have since been slowly recovering. I am now, however, going out of town, and hope soon to regain my strength. With a great many thanks, I am, my Dear Sir, your obliged and most obedient servant,

SAM<sup>L</sup> ROMILLY.

Russell Square, Dec. 24, 1819.

## 9.—MALCOLM LAING, ESQ. M. P.

Mr Laing was bred to the Scotch bar, and fully proved, by his historical writings, that the remote Orkneys could produce men of talents as well as other parts of the British empire. He was strongly linked with the Fox party, which prevented, for some time, our having much intercourse together; but latterly, he became a zealous friend to agriculture, and I received from him two letters on that subject, which I subjoin, as creditable to Orcadian zeal for improvement.

No. 1.—*Letter from Malcolm Laing, Esq. M. P. to Sir John Sinclair.*

DEAR SIR,

I entreat you to accept my best thanks for the communica-

tion of the General Report of the Agriculture, &c. of Scotland, which I shall return with such marginal notes as may occur to me in the perusal. But the general and minute accuracy of the Statistical Reports, and other sources of information, of which you have availed yourself, leave little to be added respecting Orkney. The Report will form a very valuable epitome of the agricultural and commercial state of Scotland.

My Merino flock, concerning which you inquire, amounts now to 156, exclusive of a few Merino Ryelands, and Merino South Downs. My Merino Cheviots amount to 314, Merino Orkneys to 397. As the last is a bad cross, which I do not mean to retain, it will require two years more to complete my flock, which will then consist of from 1200 to 1400 Merinos and Merino Cheviots. My Merinos will increase more rapidly hereafter, as I give them the ram in September before their first heats are over, and have provided cots and yards for their lambing in February, while the turnips are on the ground. Hitherto many of the ewes have missed lamb each year, from receiving the ram in December, when their heats were over. I remain, Dear Sir, with sincere regard, your most obedient servant,

MALCOLM LAING.

Pabdale, Orkney, Sept. 4. 1811.

No. 2.

DEAR SIR,

I returned the Orkney Report by a friend, with some marginal notes for Mr Sherriff's consideration. I am afraid, however, that the report will appear a very hasty and imperfect compilation; many entire pages, and whole sections, (on turnips, potatoes, grasses, &c.), being transcribed and reprinted *verbatim* from Brown on Rural Affairs, and, I believe, from others, with as little relation to Orkney as to Kent or Essex. At the same time, other chapters on tenures and feu-duties are very satisfactory.

In your truly valuable work upon Scottish Husbandry, from which I have derived more real information than I ever met with before, rough cocksfoot is frequently mentioned. As I am making trial of that grass at present, may I request the favour of a few lines to inform me of the most approved mode of its culture in Norfolk, viz. whether it is merely used for perennial pasture, or is sown, instead of rye-grass, in clover leys of one or two years' duration? and whether it is sown alone with clover, or with a mixture of other grasses, as oat-grass, &c.? I have tried it twice unsuccessfully; but am likely to succeed in a third attempt.

Permit me to add, how desirable it would be were a proper model of scufflers and scarifiers, to be procured from England, by Morton, or some other workman in Edinburgh, from whom we might be supplied with the implements recommended in your Husbandry of Scotland. This has been done in Morayshire; and perhaps my suggestion has been already anticipated. I am, Dear Sir, your obedient humble servant,

MALCOLM LAING.

Kirkwall, Nov. 10. 1812.

#### 10.—SAMUEL WHITBREAD, ESQ. M. P.

Mr Whitbread was certainly one of the most powerful speakers in Parliament. His elocution was enhanced by a strong, versatile, and vigorous understanding. He was prompt and ready in debate, and answered his opponents with redoubled vigour and animation. He pertinaciously adhered to his own opinion, as if proudly conscious of the rectitude of his views.

Though we differed in political questions, yet this did not prevent a friendly intercourse regarding other matters. In July 1810, in particular, I had the pleasure of visiting him at Southhill, his country-seat in Bedfordshire, in my way to Scotland, and was much gratified with the reception I experien-

ced. In a letter he wrote me soon afterwards, he states, "I was quite disappointed to find that you left us so soon, for I had promised myself much pleasure and instruction in attending you round my farm, which I am sure would have profited by your view of it. I shall attend to your hints. I will thank you to let me know, at what price you could get the Ayrshire cattle delivered here. We shall hope to catch you again, in the course of your emigrations south or north," &c.

I shall now detail, one of the most singular circumstances that happened to me, in the course of my long experience in public life, with which Mr Whitbread was materially connected.

*Parliamentary Anecdote.*

A motion had been made in Parliament, for an inquiry into the conduct of Captain Lake of the Navy, who was accused of having left a seaman, called Robert Jeffrey, on a desert island in the West Indies, where, it was said, he had actually perished; and Captain Lake was therefore considered guilty of his murder. Mr Archibald Lee, a gentleman attached to the American Embassy, had requested me to procure him permission to hear the debates in the House; and we were sitting under the gallery together, when this motion was brought on. Mr Lee expressed his astonishment, that the time of the House should be taken up about such a business, since he had actually received a letter, by the last packet from America, stating that Robert Jeffrey was alive and safe at New York. I was much struck with so singular a circumstance, thus accidentally communicated to me; and having every reason to confide in the truth of the information given me, I thought it right to mention it to the House, to prevent any measure being hastily taken on the supposition that Robert Jeffrey was dead.

It is astonishing the noise which this circumstance occasioned. The truth of my information was disputed in some of the anti-ministerial papers. I received anonymous letters

reprobating me as the associate of murderers, and threatening me with vengeance ; and Mr Whitbread wrote me, to say, “ I should be glad if you would take the trouble to inform me of the name of the gentleman, upon whose authority you stated, in the House of Commons, that Jeffrey was alive, and at New York ; and how soon he is expected to return to England, as I have received information of a very different complexion. Your immediate answer is requested.” Captain Lake’s friends also applied to me, requesting to be informed, on what authority I had asserted a fact of such importance to their relation.

Nor was this all. I likewise received a letter from Benjamin Coad, near Liskard in Cornwall, who had married Jeffrey’s mother, in which he says, “ I observe by the newspapers, that you stated in the House of Commons, that there were letters in London, containing the intelligence that Robert Jeffrey, my son-in-law, was alive, and in New York. It would give the greatest satisfaction to myself, and his afflicted mother, if you would condescend to give as much information as you have obtained respecting him, as we have had no sort of intelligence of him since he was put on shore on that desert island.”

Owing to the pressure of some official business, Mr Lee had gone to Paris, two or three days after the debate in the House of Commons, so that it was impossible for me to give any particular information to the persons demanding it, until his return. In the interim, most fortunately I received intelligence from Cornwall, that Jeffrey had actually arrived in England, and had been recognised by his relations in Cornwall. He and his mother came to London, for the purpose of raising benefactions for the injuries he complained of ; but, by the liberality of the Lake family, any application for public benevolence was rendered unnecessary, and any farther disagreeable discussions in Parliament, on so unpleasant a subject, were prevented.

ON THE PROPER LINE OF CONDUCT TO BE PURSUED BY A  
PATRIOTIC MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Whoever has had any experience in the business of Parliament, must have been disgusted with the unsound opinions too generally propagated, respecting the proper conduct to be pursued by a member of the House of Commons, whose object is, “*To promote the public good.*” These opinions are principally to be attributed to want of discrimination, and an inattention to the changes which have taken place in times and circumstances.

Formerly, the power of the Crown was the chief object to be dreaded, being in a great measure undefined, and requiring nothing but the right of imposing taxes to be perfectly uncontrollable. Until the powers of the Crown *were limited*, it was proper to watch its measures with unceasing jealousy. But now, the case is totally altered; for the aristocratical and democratical branches of the constitution have become so extremely strong, that the Crown requires rather to be upheld than to be resisted.

The fact is, that all power now rests in the House of Commons, and the Crown is obliged to make up a Government, by selecting as ministers, some of the chiefs of the different parties which exist in that department of the State, with ramifications in the other House of Parliament.

With the view of obtaining popular favour, it is usual for the parties who are not in power, to propose reforms in Parliament,—diminutions of places and pensions,—reduction in the public expenditure, &c. But such plans ought not in general to be given way to, and their success is often not desired by the very parties who propose them. The proper system to pursue is, gradually to make such changes as may be necessary; but to prevent, as much as possible, any risk of public convulsion, which would soon level the whole of our valuable institutions in the dust.

When the Parliament is divided into two parties, the opposition on the one side, and the adherents of the ministers on the other, many respectable supporters of the administration are puzzled how to act, when a question is brought forward in which they are inclined to think, that the opposition are right, and that the ministers are wrong. But the dilemma should be solved on the following grounds : If the opposition *is systematic*, that is to say, if every measure brought forward by the administration, whether right or wrong, is opposed, every upright adherer ought to support the measures of Government, even where they are not, perhaps, entirely unexceptionable, otherwise the contest is not conducted *on an equal footing*. In short, the Government ought to have a fair trial ; and, if it shews imbecility or bad intentions, it ought not to be gradually undermined, *but avowedly and totally deserted* ; and the reasons for such an alteration of system *ought to be publicly explained*.

No Minister can carry on the business of the country without the confidence of Parliament, and unless he is certain of being able to carry through the measures he brings forward. But, if he is under the necessity of consulting the humours of one man, the prejudices of another, and the selfish interests of a third, before he can bring a question under the consideration of the House, it is impossible that he can do any good in his official situation, and the sooner he quits his office the better.

Expressions are often used, implying, that there is some disgrace in holding lucrative official situations under Government ; and every endeavour is made to hold forth “ *a placeman*,” as a corrupt and despicable character. These are absurdities to which no man of common sense will pay any attention. Offices are necessary in all Governments, and more especially when the empire is extensive. Those who hold such places, and carry on public business, are entitled to be indemnified for their time, and the injury they sustain from neglecting their own private affairs. They are likewise exposed to heavy ex-



penses; and hence there is hardly an instance of a person whose property has not been impaired, rather than improved, though he has enjoyed the pecuniary advantages of an office. Were public services not to be remunerated, none but rich men could get the appointments,—who are not always properly qualified for such situations,—whose attention must partly be directed to their own important private concerns,—and who are too wealthy to undertake great labour, and, consequently, cannot carry on public business successfully.

It is fortunate that there are men, with ambitious and active minds, who are willing to hold the anxious and laborious offices of the State; for ministers are, in general, more to be pitied than envied, especially in times of disturbance, faction, or commercial difficulty. Nevertheless, where men are qualified by their birth, education, and talents, and the purity of their intentions, to hold high offices in the State, it is their duty to accept of them, to prevent those who are not equally well fitted to hold them, and whose intentions are not so pure and upright, from attaining power. Such men, if placed in high situations, might do material injury to a State;—the power they had acquired, might be employed for destructive purposes;—they might exhibit a wretched example in high employments;—and might be the means, of injuring the religious principles, and moral character of their countrymen.

**PART XIII.**

**CORRESPONDENCE WITH LITERARY.**

**CHARACTERS,**

**AND REMINISCENCES OF THEM.**

**VOL. 1.**

**2 B**



# CORRESPONDENCE WITH LITERARY CHARACTERS,

AND REMINISCENCES OF THEM.

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My correspondence, during the period of above half a century, “ *with literary characters,*” was so extensive, and the number of communications from many of them was so great, that in so limited a publication as the present, many most respectable correspondents must be left out, and I must be contented with a selection only from the letters of those whose names I shall introduce. For the sake of more distinctness, I shall arrange the communications received from this class of my correspondents, under the following heads: 1. Political Economy and Statistics; 2. Agriculture; 3. Health and Longevity; 4. Arts and Sciences; and, 5. Poetry.

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## I.

### POLITICAL ECONOMY AND STATISTICS.

#### I.—DR ADAM SMITH.

This was truly a great man, and I lament much having lost some of the most valuable letters with which he honoured me.

Our connexion was of a long standing. As far back as the year 1778, I commenced a work on finance, in the course of which, it was of great importance to me, to have the perusal of a work, entitled, “*Mémoires sur les Finances*,” which I knew was in the Doctor’s possession. In reply to an application from me, he sent me the following friendly note :

Mr Smith presents his most respectful compliments to Mr Sinclair of Ulbster.

The “*Mémoires sur les Finances*” are engaged for four months to come to Mr John Davidson. When he has done with them, Mr Smith would be very happy to accommodate Mr Sinclair ; but acknowledges he is a little uneasy about the safety of the conveyance, and the greatness of the distance. He has frequent occasion to consult the book himself, both in the course of his private studies, and in the business of his present employment, and is, therefore, not very willing to let it go out of Edinburgh. The book was never properly published ; but there were a few more copies printed than were necessary for the commission for whose use it was compiled.

One of these I obtained, by the particular favour of Mr Turgot, the late Controller-General of the Finances. I have heard but of three other copies in Great Britain. One belongs to a noble Lord, who obtained it by connivance, as he told me ; one is in the Secretary of State’s office ; and the third belongs to a private gentleman. How these two were obtained, I know not ; but suspect it was in the same manner. If any accident should happen to my book, the loss is perfectly irreparable. When Mr Sinclair comes to Edinburgh, I shall be very happy to communicate to him, not only that book, but every thing else I have upon the subject, both printed and manuscript ; and am, with the highest respect for his character, his most obedient humble servant,

ADAM SMITH.

Edinburgh, 24th November 1778.

On this letter two remarks have occurred: 1. The high compliment paid by Turgot to Dr Smith, in presenting him with the copy of a work of a description so peculiarly valuable; and, 2. That Dr Smith states his having had occasion to consult that work in the business of his employment, namely, as one of the Commissioners for the Management of the Customs in Scotland. It may be proper here to observe, that Dr Smith admitted that he derived great advantage from the practical information he derived by means of his official situation; and that he would not have otherwise known or believed how essential practical knowledge was, to the thorough understanding of political subjects.

In 1782, I had drawn up a tract, pointing out to the armed neutrality the policy of supporting Great Britain against the confederacy of the House of Bourbon, and suggesting a union of the powers of Europe, to emancipate the Colonies, both in the West Indies and on the Continent of America, for the general interest of all nations. Dr Smith's remarks on that pamphlet were contained in the following letter:

MY DEAR SIR,

I have read your pamphlet several times over, with great pleasure, and am very much pleased with the style and composition. As to what effect it might produce, if translated, upon the Powers concerned in the armed neutrality, I am a little doubtful. It is too plainly partial to England. It proposes that the force of the armed neutrality should be employed in recovering to England the islands she has lost; and the compensation which it is proposed that England should give for this service, is the islands which they may conquer for themselves, with the assistance of England, indeed, from France and Spain. There seems to me, besides, to be some inconsistency in the argument. If it be just to emancipate the Continent of America from the dominion of every European power, how can it be just to subject the islands to such dominion? And if the monopoly of the trade

of the Continent be contrary to the rights of mankind, how can that of the islands be agreeable to those rights? The real futility of all distant dominions, of which the defence is necessarily most expensive, and which contribute nothing, either by revenue or military force, to the general defence of the empire, and very little even to their own particular defence, is, I think, the subject upon which the public prejudices of Europe require most to be set right. In order to defend the barren rock of Gibraltar, (to the possession of which we owe the union of France and Spain, contrary to the natural interests and inveterate prejudices of both countries, the important enmity of Spain, and the futile and expensive friendship of Portugal,) we have now left our own coasts defenceless, and sent out a great fleet, to which any considerable disaster may prove fatal to our domestic security; and which, in order to effectuate its purpose, must probably engage a fleet of superior force. Sore eyes have made me delay writing to you so long. I ever am, my Dear Sir, your most faithful and affectionate humble servant,

ADAM SMITH.

Custom-House, Edinburgh,  
14th October 1782.

Nothing can be more just than his observations on the absurdity of retaining so invidious a possession as the barren and useless rock of Gibraltar. But humbled as the nation was by the misfortunes of the American war, it would not submit to relinquish that unfortunate acquisition; and Mr Fox's description of it made a great impression, both on Parliament and the public. "We must never give up a possession which divides France from France, and Spain from Spain." But, on the contrary, it was, in fact, uniting France and Spain, who would otherwise have been separated.

I recollect, when I was lamenting to the Doctor the misfortunes of the American war, and exclaimed, "If we go on

at this rate, the nation *must be ruined* ;” he answered, “ Be assured, my young friend, that there is a great deal *of ruin* in a nation.”

2.—THE REV. T. ROBERT MALTHUS.

The works of this distinguished political economist have been more praised on the one hand, and more violently attacked on the other, than almost any modern publication. The particular subjects in dispute I shall not at present enter into, having it in view, if health and strength should enable me, to draw up “ *A Code of Political Economy*,” in which every branch of that subject shall be discussed. In the interim, I have much pleasure in communicating the subjoined letter to my readers, recommending to their particular attention that part of it which relates to the mode of executing a General Report of the state of a country. In drawing up the General Report of Scotland, I found it necessary to employ a number of hands. The subjects were so various, that there is scarcely any individual who could do justice to them all. If drawn up by one hand, the work *may be more uniform* ; but I scarcely think it possible that it could be *so complete*.

East India College, January 31. 1815.

SIR,

I am just returned from town, and find your very obliging note.

I am quite ashamed of having so long delayed thanking you for your very valuable present. The truth is, I wished to read it through first with the attention it deserves ; but having been particularly engaged, both in College business, and in preparing a little Tract on Rent for the press, I have really not had time to form a well-grounded opinion on the plan and execution of so considerable a work. I can only



say, at present, that it appears to me to be full of the most useful information; nor do I see any other objection to the plan and execution of it, than what must necessarily arise from the number of different writers concerned. To make a General Report quite complete, perhaps it should be drawn up wholly by one master-hand, with occasional references at the bottom of the page to the different papers on which the information was founded. But there are very few who could properly execute so laborious and difficult a task; and the Report, in its present form, has a more original and authentic air.

I had read your Husbandry of Scotland before you did me the honour to send me the *Report*. I found it full of interesting information, and some that I particularly wished to obtain.

I have ordered my bookseller to send you the little Tract on Rent, which I have alluded to, and the Appendix to the *Observations on the Corn Laws*, as soon as it is published, which will be in about five or six days. I have the honour to be, with much respect, your very obedient humble servant,

T. ROBT. MALTHUS.

### 3.—WILLIAM GODWIN, ESQ.

There are few men possessing a stronger intellect, or who think more deeply on any subject they undertake to illustrate, than Mr Godwin. I was therefore extremely anxious to be favoured with his remarks on the sketch of an Introduction, and Chapter I. of my intended Code of Political Economy, some copies of which I printed for the consideration of my friends. His observations on that sketch are so extremely interesting, that I cannot deny myself the pleasure of inserting them here, for the perusal of those who may undertake the task of completing that work, if it should not be in my power to attempt it.

Skinner Street, (London), July 16. 1821.

MY DEAR SIR,

It certainly was not my intention to have troubled you with any remarks on the sketch of an Introduction, and of Chapter I. of a Code of Political Economy, which you did me the honour to send to me for that purpose. In my note of Monday last, I took the liberty of observing, that I had turned my studies to no branch of the subject which your book proposes to treat, except the single one which forms the topic of my late publication, and that I therefore greatly feared that I could not by any means afford you that aid which you had the goodness to anticipate from me.

But the conversation that has passed between us since I wrote, has inspired me with a different feeling. I found in you so much candour, and so sincere a disposition to give its full weight to whatever might be suggested to you by a person who had closely applied his attention to any of the points you propose to treat, that I should hold myself inexcusable if I did not endeavour to throw in my mite of contribution to the purpose you have in hand.

The chief remark with which I troubled you, when I had the pleasure to see you, was, that you seemed, in your first chapter, entirely to have adopted the principle of Mr Malthus, and that that could not, of consequence, appear reasonable to me, who had spent between two and three years in endeavouring to refute that principle, and who persuaded myself that I had accomplished what I undertook. I could not look upon the question of the truth or falsehood of Mr Malthus's principle as a matter of indifference, convinced as I was, that it was pregnant with the most pernicious consequences, and led to a treatment of man in society the most barbarous and inhuman.

To this remark on my part you answered, that I was to consider the sheets you had had the goodness to communicate to me, as a sketch only; that they contained your first thoughts; that these thoughts were all of them liable to revision; and

that you were desirous to listen to any suggestions that could be offered, respecting any part of your plan.

I shall attempt nothing more in this letter, than to endeavour to call your attention to the arguments suggested in my book on population, and to point out to you the way in which my reasonings, unless the arguments of my book are wholly fallacious and nugatory, are entitled to modify the plan of your first chapter.

You say, p. 30, "An eminent author maintains, that while population proceeds in a geometrical, the means of subsistence only advance in an arithmetical series. Though these doctrines have certainly some *remote* foundation, they are not *constantly* applicable, to the extent to which they have been carried by the ingenious founder of the Malthusian system."

Now, my dear Sir, it is surely somewhat difficult to conceive how a mathematical series can be partly true and partly false; and I would entreat you to recollect, that, according to Mr Malthus, "the population which might have been produced, from a single pair, since the Christian era, would have been sufficient, not only to fill the earth quite full of people, so that four should stand upon every square yard, but to fill all the planets of our solar system in the same way; and not only them, but all the planets revolving round the stars which are visible to the naked eye, supposing each of them to be a sun, and to have as many planets belonging to it as our sun has." *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 227. Now, this is not a doctrine that can be partly true and partly false. Or, supposing that we took only half, and said that the principle of population would, in two thousand years, people the whole universe, at the rate of *two* men to every square yard, how would that mend the matter?

Elsewhere you say, p. 52, "On the whole, four births or children to a marriage seems to be one of the oldest positions in political economy." This is by no means the sum of the argument by which I undertake to refute Mr Malthus. But take this singly, and it is obvious to the slightest observation,

that four children to a marriage will barely keep up the population, where that proportion is seen to prevail.

My doctrine is, that population, judging from all the satisfactory documents I have been able to obtain, has a tendency to increase at the rate of a doubling in a little more than one hundred years; but that such interruptions have been found to occur from time to time in the progress of this doubling, that, upon the whole, we have no reason to believe that the world is at all more populous now, than it was three thousand years ago.

Thus far, Sir, I have pointed out some error or inconsistency into which you have fallen, in the sketch of the first chapter of your work. I now proceed to my second point, which is to ascertain how far my arguments, unless they should be found to be wholly fallacious and nugatory, are entitled to modify the plan of your first chapter.

You will perhaps perceive upon revision, that the whole arrangement of "subjects to be discussed in chapter first," is built upon the theory of Mr Malthus. Now, if this theory should prove to be merely a transient meteor, which has served to dazzle and mislead the public mind for twenty years—if this theory is radically absurd, and if the book I have written should prove to be an unanswerable refutation of it, then it is unworthy of a Code of Political Economy, the first sketch of which is dated June 1821, to mould itself according to the dictates of such a theory. I am obliged, in this place, to take these suppositions for granted. At any rate, I conceive it is worthy of your consideration, that Mr Malthus's principles must be true or false; to which give me leave to add, that your arrangement itself is built on the assumption of their truth. Your third head, "On the checks to a superabundant population," is expressed in the words of Mr Malthus, and your division into "positive and preventive checks" is his division. Surely in all this you shew too great a deference for a system which is founded in falsehood.

In the compass of a letter I can do little more than refer

you to the contents of my book. The subjects of the first two divisions of my work, in particular, are, 1st, To shew what has been the population of the earth in all ages, as far as the records of history can carry us, viz. a population, the reverse of that abundant population, which, as you well observe, is pregnant with so many advantages ; and, 2d, To prove, on the “ basis of statistical inquiries,” and from the nature of things, that it must be expected to be so.

Under the first of these heads I have occasion again and again to remark, that all the wisest statesmen and legislators have directed their attention to increase the number of their people. “ It is not extent of territory,” says Fenelon, *Télémaque*, Liv. xii. “ that makes the monarch, but the number of human beings by whom that territory is peopled. Let the country in which you rule be moderate in extent ; cover it with innumerable inhabitants ; let those inhabitants be sober, industrious and active ; and your power, your prosperity, and your glory will be greater than those of all the conquerors that ever existed.” And this has been the voice of all antiquity, and of all modern times, with scarcely any exception, down to the period when Mr Malthus wrote.

I know that a prejudice has unconsciously arisen in favour of the doctrines of this author, from the history of the commencement of the human species as it is related in the Bible, though Mr Malthus has not appealed to this prejudice. In answer to this I have nothing to say, but that, according to the Bible, man in the early ages lived about a thousand years, and what effect this might have on the increase of population I leave it to others to ascertain. Derham, in his *Physico-Theology*, says, this condition “ was of absolute necessity for the more speedy peopling of the world ;” and adds, “ When the world was fully peopled, (as it was in the age of Moses, and so down to our present time), the lessening the common age of man to seventy or eighty years is manifestly an appointment of the same infinite providence ; as by this means

the peopled world is kept at a convenient stay." *Physico-Theology*, book iv. chapter x.

It may indeed happen, that from the circumstances of a particular country, a sudden stagnation of trade, by which multitudes are deprived of employment, there may be the appearance of a too abundant population. But this is the exception; and nothing can be more pernicious in reasoning, particularly where the happiness of the human species is at stake, than to turn the exception into the rule. Let us then still affirm with Paley, the latest of our general speculators upon moral and political philosophy, "The quantity of happiness in any given district, although it is possible it may be increased, the number of inhabitants remaining the same, is chiefly and most naturally affected by alteration of the numbers; consequently, the decay of population is the greatest evil that a state can suffer; and the improvement of it is the object, which ought in all countries to be aimed at, in preference to every other political purpose whatsoever." *Moral and Political Philosophy*, book vi. chapter xi.

I have troubled you with these remarks, first, because your singular candour seemed to impose on me the duty of a frank and unreserved communication; and, secondly, because it would grieve me to see the errors of Mr Malthus, not more pernicious than groundless,—errors that have spread a portentous cloud over the prospects of human society for the last twenty years, enshrined to posterity, by being incorporated with your benevolent and indefatigable labours for the good of mankind. I am, my Dear Sir, with much esteem, your faithful and obedient servant,

WILLIAM GODWIN.

To the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

In a posterior letter, dated 21st July 1821, Mr Godwin states the main object of his letter of the 16th to have been, to press upon my attention, that the idea of "checks to population," as something to be desired, were the mere creatures of

Mr Malthus's system. He observes, for instance, that it may happen, from the circumstances of a particular country, (a stagnation of trade, by which multitudes are deprived of employment), that there may be the appearance of a too abundant population. But this is the exception; and nothing can be more pernicious in reasoning, particularly where the happiness of the human species is concerned, than to turn the exception into the *rule*. "I quarrel," he adds, "not with words, but with ill principles."

It is impossible to close this article without alluding to his recent publication, "Cloudesley," a tale which has few rivals, and none surpassing it, in any age or country. It is hardly to be credited, at his advanced period of life, that Mr Godwin could have written a work, so full of energy of thought, and beauty of composition.

#### 4.—THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WARREN HASTINGS.

I did not know a more amiable character in private life, than the celebrated Warren Hastings; and notwithstanding the clamour against his public conduct, I was convinced, that though it might not be perfectly unexceptionable, yet that what he did, was necessary for the salvation of our Indian empire. Having sent him the copy of a plan of an agreement among the Powers of Europe, &c. for the purpose of rewarding discoveries of general benefit, he expresses, in a letter, dated Daylesford-House, 3d January 1797, the pleasure he has derived from the knowledge of a design, which, if carried into execution, would be productive of more solid utility to the race of mankind, than any other which has ever been adopted. He then adds the following important information :

"I will venture to promise, that if you are fortunate enough in the choice of your agents, (and very able there are), India, and Bengal especially, will furnish you with more new ma-

terials of knowledge, in all that relates to the useful arts of life, than all the societies of Europe united. I particularly specify Bengal, because it possesses a greater range for inquiry than either of the other two Presidencies, and a vast field of discovery lately opened to it, by the acquisition of the Sanscrit language, and the numerous writings of a very remote antiquity, which are yet extant in the possession of the Bramins, and easily attainable from them.

“ I almost venture to conjecture, that you intended to have questioned me upon the subject of a very extraordinary operation performed upon himself by Col. Claude Martine, for the removal of a stone in his bladder. Upon this, or any other matter within my knowledge, I shall be very glad to gratify your curiosity, and at least mark the wish which I feel, that I was able to contribute to those stores of information which you so laudably seek to accumulate for the benefit of society.

WARREN HASTINGS.”

In another communication, he expressed himself greatly pleased with a proposal I had sent to the Court of Directors, to institute a Board of Agriculture at Bengal, and at their other settlements; more especially as they had established one branch of it in their botanical garden, which, he conceived, was intended for the trial and introduction of new and useful articles of vegetation, and not to be confined to the mere classification of plants.

Being so anxious for the establishment of a Board of Agriculture in the East Indies, he felt great regret at my being deprived of the Presidency of the Board I had established in this country; and he expressed his sentiments on that subject in the following terms: “ I read some time since, with great sorrow, that the Board, which owed its origin to your fostering hand, and had attained under it so great a degree of improvement, was deprived of your services. Still, if it should continue to be prosecuted with a portion of that zeal which has hitherto animated its researches, (which I much doubt),



yours will be the prime merit of all its future successes; and, if it falls into neglect, even the points at which it began to fail, will serve for a memorial of the spirit of its institutor."

The following letter seems to me peculiarly interesting, as it points out the importance of making inquiries into East Indian agriculture :

Daylesford House, 25th July 1797.

SIR,

It was not the least of my regrets, among many others occasioned by similar omissions, that I lost the opportunity of paying my respects to you, which my late visit to town, though very short, might have afforded me. I can truly assure you, Sir, that it was one of my first purposes, though defeated by I scarce know what cause.

I have followed your movements in Parliament with a constant and interested attention, and early foreboded the failure of your bill for a general inclosure. No man can estimate more highly than I do parliamentary independence, and I am afraid, that if I had had a seat in the House of Commons, I should have thought it my duty to give my vote generally against that side which you appear lately to have chosen. Yet I should have been pleased, in every such instance, to hear your voice opposed to my own; and if I had the happiness to be numbered amongst the friends of Sir John Sinclair, I should avail myself of that privilege to say to him, that the interests of which he has charge are too great to be sacrificed to any other consideration of general obligation.

I know not what means to recommend for your obtaining useful information from that part of India which is most capable of affording it, so likely to prove effectual, as to address yourself immediately to the Governor-General, Sir John Shore. He possesses a liberal mind, and one capable both of extending its operations beyond the prescribed bounds of his official charge into the researches of science, and of making their results useful to it. I regret exceedingly, that it never occur-

red to me to make inquiries concerning the husbandry of that country, as I have reason to believe it conducted on excellent principles ; though these, from the poverty of the cultivators, who are almost of the lowest rank in society, and from the inconsiderate rapacity of their landlords, or of others placed in occasional authority over them, are not always perhaps applied so completely as they ought to be. The care which the husbandmen of this distinct province of Bengal take to keep their fields clear of weeds, exceeds any thing I have ever seen in other parts of India, or in England. They also excel in their preparation of the soil for sowing and transplanting ; and, in other instances, they shew themselves well versed in their art, with minds so pliable to improvement, that many of the best articles of their culture are of foreign introduction. I remember when the three provinces did not yield a single potatoe. That article is now in universal cultivation ; though less in Bengal than Bahar, the climate of which is more suitable to it.

It is probable that the ancient literature of the Bramins may treat of this science. Sir John Shore might recommend it to the particular attention of the Asiatic Society, of which he is the President ; or might himself employ learned men, of that order, to search the Sanserit records for the discovery of what they may contain relating to it. I am sure that he would accept such a commission from you with pleasure. You cannot want an introduction. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and faithful servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

Among the other papers I collected regarding Mr Hastings, I found an account of an interesting discussion between us, regarding the curiosity of the English, to see great men, and new sights.

I had observed, that in consequence of the crowds who were incessantly flocking after the Emperor Alexander, his Prussian Majesty, and the other strangers who have lately

visited us, foreigners were ridiculing the curiosity of the English, and affected to consider it a mark of inferiority of character.

Mr Hastings said, he thought it a proof of the reverse ; and to justify this opinion, he mentioned the following anecdote :

“ I remember, (he said), when Governor of Bengal, being on a voyage up the Ganges, accompanied by a greater number of vessels, of all descriptions, some of them of superior size and beauty, than is usually seen upon that river. In passing through the lower part of the province of Bengal, where the atmosphere is humid, and the people are feeble, both in body and mind, not one of them took the least notice of us. But no sooner had we reached the province of Bahar, where the natives are of a more manly and energetic description, than the banks of the river were covered with a succession of the inhabitants ; and when we came to Patna the capital, not a window, terrace, or balcony of the houses, which fronted the river, was left unoccupied, while the fleet glided past them. I have ever since been satisfied, that curiosity in a nation is a sure sign of strength of body, and vigour of intellect ; that it denotes a character eager to obtain information, and to acquire new ideas ; and that the anxiety to see great men, and new sights, with which the English have been recently reproached, but which Shakespeare has alluded to in the *Tempest*, in so pointed a manner, as existing in his time, proves them to be an active and intelligent race of people, and infinitely superior to those who never inquire about any thing, and who can encounter the greatest personages in Europe, without feeling or emotion.”

It may farther be remarked, that as to the British public running after the Emperor Alexander, and the other distinguished characters who accompanied him to this country, it ought to be attributed less to mere curiosity, than to a wish

of expressing affection and gratitude to those, who have so essentially contributed to the deliverance of Europe.

5.—DR GILLIES, THE HISTORIAN.

This respectable literary character is well known for his History of Greece, and other ingenious publications. Having requested his opinion of an introduction I had sketched out to my intended Code of Political Economy, he returned it with the following letter :

DEAR SIR,

I have read with much pleasure the sketch of your introduction herewith returned ; and most earnestly hope and trust, that you will have health and leisure to undertake and bring to a conclusion the great work to which it is a prelude, and for the execution of which, in the best manner, no man in the kingdom is so well qualified as yourself. A performance of that kind, both in its own value, and the example which it sets to the world, soars above transient concerns and temporary employments, and is truly worthy of a *Consul non unius anni*. Your complete analysis of the subject is what gives me particular delight ; because in such complex matters as political economy, partial views, and the undue amplification of particular parts, are continually hurrying mankind into the greatest practical errors. According to your desire, I have noted a few slight corrections on the margin. I remain, most truly, your obliged and obedient servant,

JOHN GILLIES.

9. Upper Seymour Street, Portman Square,  
22d February 1802.

The materials for drawing up the work above alluded to are now completed ; and most anxiously does the Author wish for health and strength to enable him to proceed with so arduous an undertaking.

## 6.—THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOSEPH BANKS, BART. P. R. S.

There are few men who were more fortunate in life, than Sir Joseph Banks. He was born with a vigorous constitution,—inherited a large fortune,—possessed a great fund of good sense,—had a turn for business,—and was capable of going through much mental, as well as personal labour. He had directed his particular attention to botany, and though not deeply conversant with any other branch of science, yet, in that department, he was highly distinguished. When elected President of the Royal Society, he became a kind of centre to the literature of the country, and under his auspices the Society flourished. He wisely resolved not to meddle with politics, which would have procured him some lukewarm friends, but a number of violent enemies. He was hostile to the idea of establishing a Board of Agriculture, thinking, perhaps, that it might interfere with the pursuits of the Royal Society, in whose Transactions some papers on agriculture had been inserted; but I recommended his being appointed a member *officially*, as President of the Royal Society, being persuaded, that he would view the Board, when the measures I had in contemplation were acted upon, in a favourable light. He, in fact, became a very useful member, and was quite delighted with the connexion which he was thus enabled to form with the Duke of Bedford, and other eminent agriculturists, with whom otherwise he had no prospect of being acquainted. The following letter is a sufficient proof, both of his zeal for botany, and of the interest he took in the proceedings of the Board of Agriculture.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Many thanks for your Address, which I laid on my table last night, very much to the satisfaction of my friends, who seemed pleased to find that the Board has been so actively employed this last season.

I grieve I have not been able to attend oftener; but I have had a season more than usually full of employment, having this winter looked over, and put names to two vast collections of plants, the one brought from China, by Lord Macartney, the other from the north-west coast of America, by a botanist of your country, sent by Government for the sole purpose of improving natural history.

I sincerely wish you all pleasure during the vacation, and all success to your undertakings, being, with real esteem and regard, your faithful humble servant,

JOS. BANKS.

May 30. 1796,  
Spring Grove.

At his desire, I drew up an account of the Husbandry of Scotland, a work on which the subjoined letter contained a very satisfactory encomium; and I was glad to find that he likewise approved much of the plan on which I proposed to prepare "A Code of Agriculture."

Ravesby Abbey, Oct. 13. 1819.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I rejoice to learn, from your favour of the 9th, that you have pitched your tents in my neighbourhood; that I shall sometimes see you in London, and oftener, I trust, while I am at Spring Grove, where I always reside during the three best months in the year.

I rejoice to hear that your *Scottish Agriculture* has met with so extensive a sale. The adoption of it in England will probably be the consequence, and a more beneficial one can scarce be conceived. That a Scots farmer can get more crop from the earth than an English one, seems a fact not to be disputed. *To have been the cause of imparting to Englishmen, the skill of Scots farmers, is indeed a proud recollection.*

A Code of Agriculture from your hands will be an agreeable present to the public. No one has so much experience

in the theory of husbandry as yourself. No one, therefore, is so able to lay down the most approved modes of practice. Adieu, my Dear Sir John. Always faithfully yours,

JOSEPH BANKS.

I wished much to prevail upon Sir Joseph to leave behind him some decisive proof of his zeal for literature; and with this view suggested, that he should leave his house in Soho Square, his library, and an income of £.1000 *per annum* to his successor in the Presidency of the Royal Society, provided he was not a member of either House of Parliament. Such a bequest would not have been a material deduction from his large property, and would have been of immense use to science; but I could not prevail upon him to adopt a plan which would have been productive of the most useful consequences.

7.—ARTHUR YOUNG, ESQ. SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

Mr Young had devoted himself, for a great number of years, to the pursuits of agriculture, both in its literary and practical departments. He found, however, that the two branches were hardly compatible; for, while he was running about collecting information for his intended publications, the management of his farm was neglected; and, though he got a great deal of applause for his spirited exertions, yet they were not likely to be productive of any pecuniary benefit.

We had frequently discussed together agricultural topics; and, on my happening to mention to Mr Young, my intention of moving in Parliament for the establishment of a Board of Agriculture, he said, "That it was perfectly unnecessary to take that trouble, as there was not the least chance of success." We two authors thus differing in opinion on the subject, we resolved to lay a literary wager which should prove in the right; Mr Young betting a copy of his *Annals of Agri-*

culture against a copy of my Statistical Account of Scotland.

Soon after, I wrote Mr Young, that I was to have a conversation with Mr Pitt upon the subject, and that he would certainly lose his bet. Mr Young, in his answer, dated 10th January 1793, said, " You are going to Mr Pitt, and I am to lose the wager. When you come from Mr Pitt, I shall win the wager. Pray, don't give Ministers more credit than they deserve. In manufactures and commerce you may bet securely; but they never did, and never will do any thing for the plough. Your Board of Agriculture will be in the moon; if on earth, remember I am to be secretary."

After many delays, in consequence of the pressure of public affairs at that time, the question at last came on, and was carried by a large majority; and I had the satisfaction of announcing my success to Mr Young, and of informing him, at the same time, that I had him in view for the office of Secretary. Though he lost his bet, therefore, Mr Young nevertheless sent a set of his Annals to the binder, having had much pleasure in presenting a copy of them to the President of the new Board. His astonishment at my success appears from the following letter:

May 19. 1793.

Upon my word you are a very fine fellow, and I have drank your health in bumpers more than once. You begin to tread on land; and what I conceived to be perfectly ærial, seems much less problematical than before. Premiums might be made to do much good; but they would demand another thousand to the sum you propose.

Let me have your speech fully and directly; and, if you establish a Secretary on a respectable footing, do not forget the farmer at Bradfield. I am, Dear Sir, your faithful and obliged,

A. YOUNG.

The Annals are preparing, and shall be bound and gilt handsomely.



Mr Young and I went on very cordially together, as President and Secretary of the Board. He thought that the county reports would never be completed; but, in a letter, dated 30th December 1808, he congratulated me, on having finished so immense a work, which he believed no other person would have gone through, from the great labour which it required. When Mr Young died, he left behind him a work, to which the name of the “Elements of Agriculture,” had been given. He had been collecting the materials for above forty years; and it was founded, not only on his own inquiries and experience, but on the examination of all the most valuable books that had been printed on the subject. He flattered himself that it would have produced a handsome sum for the benefit of his family; but every negociation for that purpose was unsuccessful. At my earnest request the manuscripts were sent to Edinburgh, for the purpose of my ascertaining in what manner the work was executed; and how far it was desirable to have it printed. From that examination, I am thoroughly convinced that it would be in the highest degree beneficial to agriculture to have the work published; and that a public grant for that purpose, to the amount of such a sum as £.1500, (which would be sufficient for the purpose), could not be better bestowed. It would be a pity that so much labour, on an object of such high importance as the improvement of agriculture, should be totally lost, when so small a sum would rescue it from that oblivion to which it must otherwise be destined.

8.—WILLIAM MARSHALL, ESQ.

Among the numerous writers on agriculture, who flourished in the course of the last century, there is none whose merits stand higher than those of Mr Marshall. He was remarkably intelligent and judicious; but unfortunately it was hardly possible to keep up any lasting intercourse with him,

from the defects of his temper. His descriptions of "*The Rural Economy of the several Districts in England*" are highly valuable; but he was extremely indignant at "*The County Reports*" I had set on foot, as likely to interfere with his publications. He therefore published a most violent attack upon them, which I was glad he did, as it explained both their defects and their merits. When he died, I was extremely anxious to have any works printed that he had left behind him unpublished, but the attempt (as will afterwards appear) proved unsuccessful.

Having proposed to Mr Marshall that he should undertake a survey of our Scottish husbandry, I received, in return, the following communication:

Pickering, (Yorkshire), 7th Dec. 1790.

SIR,

I embrace the earliest opportunity of acknowledging myself highly sensible of the honour you have done me in your letter of the 29th ult.

The Society you are establishing for the preservation and improvement of British wool, appears to me of the first consequence to the lasting prosperity of this nation; and it would give me great satisfaction to be instrumental in forwarding so desirable a design, in any way compatible with my own undertaking. But, Sir, the intimation you are pleased to throw out, is such as I cannot conceive to be applicable to myself, while Dr Anderson is so superiorly calculated to preclude my endeavours.

The queries you have been so good as to send me, I have perused with pleasure, as they appear to form a broad foundation on which to erect your patriotic work.

In regard to my northern survey, I have to thank you very much, Sir, for the hint you have dropt. I have no doubt of the liberality and public spirit of the gentlemen of North Britain; but a subscription is among the last experiments I could persuade myself to use toward the completion of my design.

Nevertheless, rather than forego the advantage of obtaining a knowledge of the husbandry of Scotland, I may hereafter attempt a means of that nature. The past autumn I spent in West Kent, chiefly with a view to the management of hops; and Lord Egremont has honoured me with an invitation into Sussex, which it is probable I shall visit next spring, and endeavour to complete a survey of the southern counties, before I enter upon that of the northern provinces.

Should a fresh disposition of circumstances take place, I will do myself the honour of apprising you. I am, with the greatest respect, Sir, your obliged most humble servant,

WILLIAM MARSHALL.

Upon hearing of Mr Marshall's death, (which happened in 1818), and ascertaining the name and abode of his executor, I immediately wrote to him to know, whether Mr Marshall had left any papers behind him fit for publication, and what would be the best plan of having them published, to which I received the following reply :

SIR,

In answer to your polite letter of the 12th, I am sorry to inform you, that the last illness of my late relative Mr Marshall, (of whom you speak so handsomely), was of so painful a nature, that he was not able to give any directions respecting his unpublished works. I have looked over part of his MSS., but have not found one on a general work on agriculture, in a state of forwardness *yet* ; but am in hopes of doing so, as I have found some detached pieces, which appear to be rough sketches of parts of such a work, which he certainly always had an intention of composing.

We intend to print every thing that may be likely to be of service to the public. I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient servant,

W. WELLS.

Pickering, 29th Oct. 1819.

## 9.—DR ERASMUS DARWIN.

It was highly gratifying to me, to have prevailed on so able a writer as the celebrated Dr Darwin, the author of *Zoonomia*, and of the *Botanic Garden*, to draw up a work on *Practical Agriculture*.

His “*Phytologia, or the Philosophy of Agriculture and Gardening*,” is a most valuable performance. In it will be found a number of useful observations of a practical nature; in particular, he is one of the first authors who recommended bone-dust as a manure: but, on the whole, it is of too philosophic a description to be calculated for general use. Before the work was published, he sent me the following letter, accompanied with a sketch of his intended dedication:

Derby, Nov. 8. 1797.

SIR,

I have employed the vacant hours which I could command, in writing a theory on vegetation, applied to agriculture and gardening. The work has proceeded but slowly, and it will yet be some months before I shall think I have sufficiently studied it, to commit it to the press. I believe it will make two volumes octavo \*. I hope you will permit me to prefix the inclosed dedication to you; as without your instigation, I should not have attempted it.

In respect to a society to collect medical facts, I dare say it might be a very useful institution, if managed with that activity and address which you have so laudably exerted in the *Agricultural Society*. I am, Sir, with great respect, your much obliged and obedient servant,

E. DARWIN.

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\* It was printed in one vol. 4to, an. 1800.

## DEDICATION.

To Sir John Sinclair, Baronet, President of the Board of Agriculture, by whose unremitted exertions such important improvements have been accomplished in the cultivation of the earth, that great source of life and felicity ! this Work, which was begun by his instigation, and forwarded by his encouragement, is dedicated, with true respect, by his much obliged and obedient servant,

THE AUTHOR \*.

## 10.—MR JOSEPH ELKINGTON, THE CELEBRATED DRAINER.

Among the great discoveries which the Board of Agriculture was the means of bringing to light, those made by a farmer in Warwickshire, Mr Joseph Elkington, in the art of draining land, were found to be of peculiar importance. I took a great deal of pains, therefore, to bring his plans forward ; and as he was totally incapable himself of describing them, I sent a very intelligent engineer, who went to the very field where the discovery was accidentally made, and thence visited with him all his other principal operations, taking plans and giving descriptions of each. In this way, a complete account of the system, in all its branches, was communicated to

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\* Another friend of mine in England, (Walter Trevelyan, Esq. of Nether-Whitton, near Morpeth, in Northumberland), was still more enthusiastic. In a letter, dated 24th December 1813, he says, " I cannot, my Dear Sir, conclude, without expressing a thorough conviction of the great benefit which Great Britain has already derived, and will continue so to do, from your patriotic exertions ; and which will entitle you to be placed hereafter amongst its worthies. Thus much, and more is, your due, who have in a manner brought agriculture to its *ne plus ultra*. But I look forward to distant years, when the whole world may reap, by your means, ample harvests, filling every granary, and every kingdom in it, with food, and joy, and happiness."

Nothing but the stimulus of such encomiums, however extravagant they may appear, could have induced any one to have undergone the endless labour and vexation, which were unavoidable in carrying on the various measures for the improvement of the country, which I had been induced to undertake.

the public, and numbers were enabled to carry it on, from the information thus given them.

It appears by a letter from Mr Elkington, dated July the 14th 1799, that from neglecting his own private concerns, in order to spread the knowledge of this great discovery, he had fallen into much distress; and as he had not the means of cultivating the whole of his farm, the losses he sustained, from a large part of it remaining in an unproductive state, exceeded all calculation. In this letter he stated, that "if he could procure a sum that would enable him to work the whole of the land, the produce therefrom would amply repay every thing; and that about £.700 would not only be sufficient, to relieve him from his present difficulties, but to enable him to leave an ample sum to his family."

In order that such important objects might be effected, I resolved to bring his services under the consideration of Parliament, and to endeavour to procure for them a public grant. There was no precedent for such an application, and the motion on that account met with some opposition; but it was ultimately carried, and the distresses to which this ingenious and useful man was subjected were happily relieved, by the grant of so moderate a sum as £. 1000.

#### 11.—MR ANDREW MEIKLE, THE INVENTOR OF THE THRESHING-MILL.

The threshing-machine is unquestionably the most valuable implement that has been introduced into the practice of husbandry, in the course of the last century. The saving of manual labour which it occasioned, and that of a very severe kind, is beyond calculation; while, by its means, the grain is separated from the straw in a more perfect and expeditious manner than has hitherto been accomplished by any other sort of improvement, with this additional advantage, that the quantity produced is increased to the extent of one-twentieth.

There can be no doubt, that this machine, on the principles on which it is now constructed, was the invention of Andrew Meikle, civil-engineer, at Houston-mill, near Haddington, in Scotland ; and as, besides its other advantages, the facility of managing extensive farms was thus greatly promoted, it occurred to me, that it was a duty incumbent upon the landed and agricultural interests to reward the inventor ; and that the lead in this business ought to be taken by the nobility and gentry of the county of Haddington, where Mr Meikle resided. With a view of bringing the subject forward, in the capacity of President of the Board of Agriculture, I addressed a letter to the Earl of Haddinton, Lord-Lieutenant of the county, recommending it to his attention. A general meeting was held on the 26th December 1809, when the measure was unanimously approved of. A committee was appointed to carry the plan into effect, by whose successful exertions a sum of money was raised, to the amount of about £.1500, by which Mr Meikle and his family were rescued from that state of poverty into which otherwise they would have fallen. Ingenious mechanics of all descriptions were thus stimulated to employ their talents in making useful discoveries, from the prospect afforded them, that their future interests, as well as their immediate advantage, would not be neglected \*.

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\* I had afterwards the satisfaction of raising a sum of money for the family of Mr Small, by whose means the construction of the Scotch plough was so much improved.

The consequences of these improvements, in the southern districts of Scotland, are hardly to be credited. A farm in East Lothian of only 330 arable acres, was raised to £.8, 2s. *per* Scotch acre, or £.2673 in all ; and the farm of North Berwick Mains, of nearly the same size, paid nearly the same sum. A distinguished agriculturist, Mr Brown of Markle, remembers, in his early days, both these farms at a rent of about £.300 *per annum*, and yet the occupiers were in a poor condition, and paid these moderate rents with difficulty.

The spirit of the country, however, having been called into action, and the spirit of improvement excited, by increased prices, the tenantry began to think as well as to act ; and the land was enabled, by superior cultivation, to produce more than previously had been thought possible.

## 12.—DR PARRY OF BATH.

This intelligent physician had a great turn for agriculture ; and, in particular, had paid attention to the Merino breed of sheep, and their crosses with the Ryeland. Being anxious to obtain as much authentic information as possible, upon that subject, I prevailed upon the Board to offer a premium for the best Essay respecting it ; to which Dr Parry was found justly entitled. His Essay was printed in the communications to the Board of Agriculture, vol. v. part 2, p. 337, and is a work of a very superior description.

On the subject of that Essay, I received the following letter from Dr Parry :

SIR,

I am extremely obliged to you for your present of Dr Duncan's collections on the diseases of sheep, which I received a few days ago, by the Rev. Mr Townsend. It is, on the whole, the best account which I have seen. Indeed, I know of no other collection ; but it would have been more intelligible to the English reader, if the provincialisms had been explained by a glossary.

I look forward with impatience to the perusal of your work on Longevity, which I am to have in a few days, and from which I have already seen extracts, which seem to me very important, and altogether original. The subject itself is new, and certainly worthy of the most diligent research.

I have at length finished the last page of my Essay for the Board, which, I trust, will not disgrace their next volume. It has been to me a work of great labour ; in order to compose which, I have been obliged to forego many a meal, and steal many an hour from sleep. I shall feel myself sufficiently recompensed, if by this, and other publications, the result of the observations of fifteen years, I shall succeed in recom-



mending, to the general attention of my countrymen, the important object on which I have addressed them.

Wishing you success in all your pursuits for the benefit of mankind, I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and faithful servant,

C. H. PARRY.

Bath, May 21. 1807.

### 13.—DR PRIESTLEY.

When driven from England by the violence of party, this distinguished philosopher took refuge in America; where, however, he continued to feel an ardent desire to promote the improvement of his native country. He was thence induced to send me the following letter, containing an account of the agricultural system pursued by Mr Joseph Cooper, an American farmer, which seemed to Dr Priestley entitled to the attention of British agriculturists. It contains some useful hints; and any communication, written by so able a man, cannot fail to be acceptable to the generality of my readers.

Philadelphia, April 29. 1797.

SIR,

Though not employed in agriculture, and my philosophical pursuits have had other objects, I have not been wholly inattentive to a subject of so much importance; and though I am not able to supply you with any thing out of my own stores, I am happy to have it in my power to communicate something from the labours and observations of others.

I have fortunately become acquainted with Mr Joseph Cooper, who lives opposite to this city on the Jersey shore, a great original genius in agriculture, and farming in general. Without any advantage of education superior to other farmers, he has thought philosophically on the subject, and has had very extraordinary success, in a variety of plans, which

are wholly new, and which promise to be of great benefit to his country and the world.

I have his leave to communicate to you his observations and experiments relating to an opinion and practice which has prevailed, I believe, universally, but which, he is satisfied, is ill founded. Plants, it is said, will degenerate, unless the soil in which they grow be changed. It is therefore thought to be necessary, from time to time, to get fresh seeds and roots, and from distant places. Mr Cooper, on the contrary, has, for many years, been in the habit of selecting the best seeds and roots of his own; and though he has continually sown and planted them in the same soil, every article of his produce is greatly superior to those of any other person who supplies this market; and they seem to be still in a state of improvement. This, without his knowing it, is the very same plan that was adopted by Mr Bakewell in England with respect to cattle. He kept improving his breeds, by only coupling those in which the properties he wished to produce were the most conspicuous, without any regard to consanguinity, or any other circumstance whatever.

Mr Cooper was led to his present practice, which he began more than forty years ago, by observing that vegetables of all kinds were very subject to change, with respect to their time of coming to maturity, and other properties; but that the best seeds never failed to produce the best plants. Among a great number of experiments, he particularly mentions the following:

About the year 1746, his father procured seeds of the long warty squash; and though they have been used on the farm ever since that time, without any change, they are, at this time, better than they were at the first.

His early peas were procured from London in the year 1756; and though they have been planted on the same place every season, they have been so far from degenerating, that they are preferable to what they were then. The seeds of his asparagus he had from New York in 1752; and though

they have been treated in the same manner, the plants are greatly improved.

It is more particularly complained, that potatoes degenerate when they are planted from the same roots in the same place. At this, Mr Cooper says, he does not wonder, when it is customary with farmers to use the best, and plant from the refuse. Whereas, having observed that some of his plants produced potatoes that were larger, better shaped, and in greater abundance than others, he took his seed from them only, and the next season he found that the produce was of a quality superior to any that he had ever had before. This practice he still continues, and finds that he is abundantly rewarded for his trouble.

Mr Cooper is also careful to sow the plants from which he raises his seed, at a considerable distance from any others. Thus, when his radishes are fit for use, he takes ten or twelve that he most approves, and plants them at least one hundred yards from others that blossom at the same time. In the same manner, he treats all his other plants, varying the circumstances according to their natures.

About the year 1772, a friend of his sent him a few grains of a small kind of Indian corn, not larger than goose shot, which produced from eight to ten ears on a stalk. They were also small, and he found that few of them ripened before the frost. Some of the largest and earliest of these he saved, and planting them between rows of a larger and earlier kind, the produce was much improved. He then planted from those that had produced the greatest number of the largest ears, and that were the first ripe, and the next season the produce, with respect to quality and quantity, were preferable to any that he had ever planted before. From this corn he has continued to plant ever since, selecting the seed in the following manner :

When the first ears are ripe enough for seed, he gathers a sufficient quantity for early corn, or for replanting ; and at the time that he wishes his corn to be generally ripe, he ga-

thers a sufficient quantity for the next year's planting, having particular care to take it from stalks that are large at the bottom, of a regular taper, not very tall, the ears set low, and containing the greatest number of good sizeable ears, and of the best quality. These he dries quickly, and from them he plants his main crop ; and if any hills be missing, he replants from the seeds that were first gathered, which, he says, will cause the crop to ripen more regularly than they commonly do, and which is of great advantage. This method he has practised many years, and he is satisfied that it has been the means of increasing the quantity, and improving the quality, of his crops, beyond what any person who had not tried the experiment could imagine.

Farmers differ much with respect to the distance at which they plant their Indian corn, and the number of grains they put in a hill. Different soils, Mr Cooper observes, may require different practices in both these respects ; but in every kind of soil that he has tried, he finds that planting the rows six feet asunder each way, or nearly at right angles, as may be, and leaving not more than four stalks in a hill, produces the best crop. The common method of saving seed corn, by taking the ears from the heap, is attended, he says, with two disadvantages ; one is the taking the largest ears, of which, in general only one grows on a stalk, which lessens the produce, and the other is taking ears that ripen at different times.

For many years Mr Cooper renewed all the seed of his winter grain from a single plant, which he had observed to be more productive, and of a better quality than the rest, which, he is satisfied, has been of great use. And he is of opinion, that all kinds of garden vegetables may be improved by the methods described above, particular care being taken that different kinds of the same vegetables do not bloom at the same time near together, since, by this means, they injure one another.

It is alleged that foreign flax seed produces the best flax in Ireland. But Mr Cooper says, that when it is considered

that only the bark of the plant is used, and that it is in perfection before the seed is ripe, it will appear that his hypothesis is not affected by it.

Mr Cooper had the following instance of the naturalization of a plant in a different climate. He had some watermelon seed sent to him from Georgia, which, he was informed, was of a peculiarly good quality. Knowing that seeds from vegetables which grow in a hot climate, require a longer summer than that of Pennsylvania, he gave them the most favourable situation that he had, and used glasses to forward their growth, and yet few of them ripened well. But finding them to be of an excellent quality, he saved the seeds of those that ripened the first; and by continuing this practice five or six years, they came to ripen as early as any that he ever had.

I cannot express how much I admire your exertions with respect to the great objects pursued by the Board of Agriculture. They promise to counteract the destructive effects of war; and in time of peace will, I hope, speedily repair all the calamities occasioned by it, or it can be done by the better condition of those who survive them. I particularly admire the liberality of your address to all nations, on a subject so highly interesting to them all, and I promise myself a new and more happy era in the state of society from it. With the greatest respect, I am, Sir, yours sincerely,

J. PRIESTLEY.

*P. S.*—I am directing a few experiments on the use of gypsum as a manure, which I think will ascertain the principle on which it acts, and may lead to a more effectual application of it. If I have any success, you shall hear from me again.

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III.

## HEALTH AND LONGEVITY.

## I.—DR JENNER.

It is impossible too highly to estimate the benefits conferred by Dr Jenner on the human race. His discovery was the means of rescuing mankind from the most loathsome and destructive of all the various maladies to which they are exposed. The discovery of *inoculation* was certainly an important acquisition; but *vaccination* is immeasurably superior, and it forms a discovery which entitled the individual, by whom it was effected, not only to honours and rewards from his contemporaries, but to the gratitude of all succeeding ages.

It is hardly to be credited how little attention was at first paid to this great discovery in England, and the obstacles which it had to encounter. It is singular, that when a society was constituted, for promoting the practice of vaccination, with the exception of Mr Devaynes its treasurer, I was the only member in either House who joined in the institution; and, indeed, had not the discovery been taken up with great zeal in other countries, its progress in this, though it was much recommended by some respectable physicians, would have been slow, and perhaps insignificant.

Dr Jenner knew well the high respect and esteem that I entertained for him. When the question of a parliamentary reward was proposed in the House, I supported the motion for the larger sum, and would have moved for its being doubled, had there been the least prospect of success.

Our correspondence was conducted on the most friendly terms, as will appear from the following interesting communication :

SIR,

I am happy to hear my former letter proved satisfactory. You did me honour in communicating its contents to the medical professors in the university of Edinburgh. The world cannot boast of any of higher reputation.

Your suggestion is certainly worthy of investigation, but I perceive great difficulty in it. Will you have the goodness to tell me why you suppose the scarlet fever comes to us from the dog? The itch is certainly derived from that animal, and there is a species of this disease that comes also from the horse. The hog is very unjustly accused of inflicting upon us that plague, the measles. This idea has its origin in a very singular circumstance. The animal is sometimes beset with myriads of little tubercles. Every muscle is full of them; nor do the vital parts escape. The whole of the thoracic and abdominal viscera contain them in great abundance; even the heart, both in its external surface, and within its cavities, is studded over with them, and they pervade also its substance. In short, no parts of the animal that I have had an opportunity of examining escape, except the skin and fat. The brain, nor the cavities of the bones, I have not had a fair opportunity of examining. About fifteen years ago I gave a paper on this subject to the late Mr John Hunter, and clearly demonstrated that it was a species of hydatid, which, in this form, was committing depredations on the poor hog. However, he seems to suffer but little under his misfortunes, and grows fat equally fast with his brethren in the sty. The last I saw in this state weighed twenty stone. Pray, Sir, pardon this detail.

The *dog distemper*, as it is called, is a very singular disease. For many years past I have been giving attention to it, and find it to be direct *peripneumony*, produced by the agency of contagion. The liver sometimes comes in for a share of the inflammation, but not often. When this is the case, the animal sometimes dies within twenty-four hours after the seizure. The third day, in violent cases, is more frequently the fatal day. If the dog gets through the first stage, which he commonly

does, a train of symptoms comes on which frequently harass him to death. The brain becomes affected,—he is delirious,—convulsed,—blind,—and often, to a certain degree, paralytic, generally in the backward legs. On dissection, an effusion of serum appears in the brain. This is the outline of the *dog distemper*, which, from a pretty general inquiry, seems not to have been known in this country beyond the middle of the last century.

I once thought that the equine virus was rendered milder by passing through the cow; but this was before I discovered that the vaccine virus assumes a virulence in its later stages, which it does not possess in the more early periods of its formation. It is exactly the same with the *human* virus as with the vaccine, and doubtless with the equine, the source of the whole. It is difficult to mark precisely the rise and progress of the spontaneous pustule on the foot of the horse, and even the casually inoculated pustule on the teat of the cow; but, on the human arm, we can ascertain its age to an hour, and, consequently, can always be upon our guard against virus taken at a late period. Sir Walter Farquhar once told me he produced a sore, accompanied with an erysipelas, extending from one extremity of the arm to the other, by inoculating a child with variolous matter taken from a pustule nearly in a state of desiccation. And although he produced so much local disease, the child, on a re-inoculation with variolous matter taken from a *recently-formed* pustule, received the small-pox in a regular and correct manner.

It has long been my wish to lay before the public some further observations on the cow-pox, but professional engagements, and a correspondence throughout every civilised part of the world, have hitherto prevented me. The British Senate has something to answer for on this account. Had Parliament behaved generously, I could have purchased assistance; but they did very little more than merely repay the expenditures and losses I sustained, in prosecuting that inquiry which has proved so fortunate for mankind. With this idea I console myself in my retirement. I have done with the metro-



polis, (except as a guardian of the institution for the extermination of the small-pox), and have resumed my station as a village doctor.

Pray, Sir, accept my best thanks for the honour you have done me, in mentioning my name in so handsome a manner in your excellent political paper. I remain, Sir, your obedient and obliged humble servant,

EDWD. JENNER.

Feb. 28. 1804.

I had occasion to apply to Dr Jenner on a subject quite unconnected with medicine. My eldest son had been sent abroad to acquire the German language, and to study at some foreign academies; but I had become extremely anxious to bring him home to complete his education at Oxford. All intercourse with Vienna, where my son had gone, was then interdicted by the edicts of Napoleon. It was, however, accidentally suggested to me, that perhaps a passport might be obtained, by means of an application from Dr Jenner to Napoleon. To my request for his interposition in that matter, he returned the following friendly reply :

DEAR SIR,

It would afford me very singular pleasure, if, by an application to the French Emperor, I could obtain the liberation of your son; but by a gentleman who had permission to come to England on his parole, I am assured, that Bonaparte has lately issued an edict, forbidding the presentation of petitions from any quarter whatever in favour of the English captives. I lament this act of severity, as it precludes me from making the effort of serving you. If you think an application to the Emperor of Germany would be at all likely to avail, I shall be ready to make the attempt. My name is well known to that monarch, and I have never yet asked him to grant me a favour. Towards the end of the ensuing week, I hope to be in town, and shall then do myself the honour of waiting upon

you. I am, Sir, with great respect, your obedient and faithful humble servant,

EDWD. JENNER.

Cheltenham, 12th March 1808.

It shewed a determined hostility indeed, to the natives of this country, that Napoleon should forbid even the presentation of petitions, from any quarter whatever, in favour of the English captives.

The following letter contains some interesting information regarding Dr Jenner's great discovery :

Berkeley, Glostershire, Dec. 10. 1803.

SIR,

Your letter, which has taken a long circuitous course, has at length found me at Berkeley. With the greatest pleasure I take my pen to answer your questions.

1st, The cow-pox most certainly originates in the horse. The limpid fluid oozing from a sore in the heel of that animal, if taken on its early formation, and conveyed to the teat of the cow, produces the disease. Hence the term *Cowpox* is improper ; but we dare not alter it at present. The infection is conveyed by men to the cows in the first instance ; and, secondly, by cows to the men and women employed in the dairy.

2d, It does not appear to me, that the cow species possess any peculiar quality in softening the virulence of the equine virus. The explanation would be tedious.

3d, It is not so practicable to take the matter from cows as from the human species. The disease is extremely rare among them ; and when present, it is almost impossible to judge of the age of the pustules, the grand criterion of distinction, between that matter which is fit for the purpose of inoculation, and that which is not. Now, if a child be inoculated, the age of the pustule, and its quality, can always be ascertained with necessary precision.

The vaccine matter, like the variolous, admits of being sent to distant countries between plates of glass, and on the extremities of quills, cut like tooth picks. In this way it has often been conveyed, in full perfection, across the Atlantic, and to the most distant parts of the European Continent. There are many other modes of conveying dried matter ; but that which is fresh and fluid should always be preferred. It is certainly as efficacious when taken from the cow, as from the human species. Should you, at any time, wish for further information on this subject, I shall be extremely happy to convey it. I have the honour to be, Sir, your very faithful and obliged humble servant,

EDWD. JENNER.

*P. S.* I am extremely happy to find, that the medical gentlemen of Edinburgh take up vaccination so warmly : indeed, there cannot now be two opinions respecting its efficacy.

I am much gratified to find, that it is fully established in all our East Indian territories, where the advantages derived from it will be incalculable.

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It was really a national disgrace, that so great a benefactor to mankind should be compelled, by the ill-timed parsimony of a legislature, who has such treasures at its command, to return to his original profession, that of being a mere village doctor. The warrior, who destroys thousands of his fellow creatures, is hailed as the greatest of the human race, and receives every reward that can be conferred by royal power, or public bounty ; whereas the man who preserves the lives of thousands, and even millions, is treated with apathy and neglect.

## 2.—DR BEDDOES OF BRISTOL.

Few physicians in ancient or modern times, enjoy a more deserved reputation than Dr Beddoes. His writings display

great talents, and deep information regarding the various branches of medicine ; and so far from confining himself to established dogmas, he was ready to listen to, and even to adopt new ideas, when he considered them well founded. In the subjoined communication, he assigns a very plausible reason why physicians are not usually conversant with the means necessary for the preservation of health.

SIR,

I feel extremely obliged by your polite and prompt attention to my application. I hope you will further be pleased to direct, that when the remaining sheets amount to a moderate quantity, they may be forwarded (in the way before mentioned) to Mr Cottle, bookseller, Bristol. After what you say of the reports respecting Banff and Thurso, I feel very anxious to see them. Meanwhile I shall digest what I find in the others.

I shall be happy to avail myself of your influence as a means of facilitating inquiry. When a student at Edinburgh, I walked through much of the Western Highlands ; and though I was then intent on natural history, I paid what attention I could to the personal condition of the Highlanders. Since I have been here, I have snatched opportunities to make rapid incursions into interesting parts of South Wales.

I know most of the Edinburgh professors by correspondence or personally. I doubt whether they possess any great fund of *peculiar* information concerning the effect of the circumstances in which men are placed regarding their health. *Indeed, it has never been accurately studied by medical men, because it was not an obvious source of profit ; nor by others, on account of the profound ignorance concerning ourselves, in which we are all brought up.* I thank you much for your hints as to time. I need not lose *any* unnecessarily. But still less would I see that hastily and partially, which I might see fully and at proper leisure. And though my sacrifice in all probability would be pretty considerable, I should not regret it, if I

should observe any thing important in consequence of taking more time. The season of most occupation here, with mere hot-well cases, is the early part of the spring. I am, Sir, with much respect, your obliged servant,

THOMAS BEDDOES.

22d February.

3.—REV. JOSEPH TOWNSEND.

The worthy Rector of Pewsey, having been already mentioned in the preceding pages of this work, it is unnecessary to repeat what has been formerly said of him.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I know not if the observations I have subjoined will be acceptable to you, or suggest any hint, of which you may avail yourself in your inestimable work. They are the result of more than forty years' attention and experience; and will at least serve one good purpose, by demonstrating, that I am both interested in the success of your undertaking, and desirous of seizing the first opportunity of conveying to you a sense of the obligations you have so kindly conferred upon me. I am, indeed, impatient to express my gratitude, and shall be at all times happy in receiving your commands. You have evidently but one pursuit,—but one desire, that of being extensively useful to mankind; and every one must be happy, in proportion as he can assist your views.

The latter end of next week I shall return to Pewsey, where I should rejoice to see you. I remain, my Dear Sir John, your much obliged friend, and most obedient servant,

JOSEPH TOWNSEND.

June 1805.

N. B.—If Lord Bacon's maxim is just \*, the next question is, what would be the best family medicine? Different sorts

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\* His maxim was, "*Crebræ et domesticæ purgationes*," as necessary for the preservation of health.

may be necessary with different constitutions and different periods of life, and in some cases it would be advisable to have it more frequently repeated than others.

I should think it possible to lay down general rules which might be applicable, with the exception of very particular cases, where the advice of a physician would be necessary.

#### 4.—DR ADAM FERGUSON.

Hallyards, near Peebles, October 24. 1803.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have a kind hint on the back of a letter from Sir John Macpherson, franked by you, that the answer might go through your hands also. I accordingly take the benefit of this hint, and the rather, that it gives me an opportunity, without attempting an adequate return to the great dispatch with which you honoured me too many months ago, to deprecate your contempt of me for having so long failed in that matter. This failure at least may inform you, that I am in fact superannuated, and so far one of *your pets*, which you wish to preserve as long as possible. It is to be hoped, that some of them are of more use than I am, otherwise you may e'en let them go in course. Here are three of us born the same year, viz. 1723. There is little difference in our appearance, only that I am the least weather-beaten of the three. I have had the advantage of exemption from toil, and they, till of late, have had the advantage of sobriety. But there is another twelve years older than we are, having been born in 1712. A peasant of this parish. His sobriety you need not doubt. The world, for ought he has seen of it, may not be twelve miles broad or long; but he has been distinguished through life for vivacity, is veridic, open spoken, and quoted for *bons mots*. He was of a good aspect and stature, but is now blind, and much shrunk, goes through all his usual haunts without any assistance or guide, is even offended at being offered any. *I*

*see as well as you do of a dark night, he said to me, and why may not I find my way as well as you do? They tell me I have lived long, but it is just a gliff.* I have often thought to get our minister to answer all your queries respecting this person, but you know the consequence of procrastination after fourscore. I have the honour to be, my Dear Sir, your obedient humble servant,

ADAM FERGUSON \*.

*Sir John Sinclair's Answer to Dr Ferguson.*

MY DEAR SIR,

I received much pleasure from your obliging letter to me, and from the perusal of your interesting communication to Sir John Macpherson. It contained a number of very important political observations. I am happy to find, that you preserve good health, and retain such vigour of mind, and powers of reflection. I wish that I had many such *pets*. Remember Ulysses's prescription to his father Laertes,

“ Warm baths, good food, soft sleep, and generous wine,  
“ These are the rights of age, and should be thine.”

As I continue to collect as much information as possible regarding longevity, I should be glad to have the questions on that subject answered regarding the old man in your neighbourhood. At Sir John Macpherson's desire, I beg to send you the inclosed, and I remain, with sincere regard and esteem, your faithful and obedient servant.

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\* It is to be observed in this letter from this respectable author, that though the sense is unexceptionable, yet that the spelling is deficient; and it has been remarked in various instances, that whilst the spiritual part of the mind remains unimpaired, the mechanical part of it, if I may be allowed that expression, falls off, and diminishes in point of strength or force. It is said that the celebrated Earl of Mansfield could hardly spell at all for some time before he died. Spelling depends much upon memory, which is impaired by disease or age.

## 5.—SIR HUMPHRY DAVY, BART.

No circumstance could be more gratifying to me, than to have a share in promoting the success of so eminent a philosopher as Sir Humphry Davy, whose talents have thrown such a lustre on his age and country. To his more early friends, Sir Joseph Banks and Mr Davies Gilbert, he was greatly indebted; but no circumstance contributed more to his success in life, than his connection with the Board of Agriculture, as he derived considerable emolument from his services to the Board \*, and there became acquainted with a number of the most distinguished characters in the kingdom.

Sir Humphry also, derived much advantage, in carrying on his chemical experiments, from the extensive laboratory erected at the Royal Institution. He was therefore extremely anxious to have that establishment placed on a permanent footing, and he sent me a plan for that purpose, accompanied by the following letter :

DEAR SIR,

I shall take the liberty of inclosing a plan for improving the Royal Institution, and making it permanent.

It will be a happy omen for us if you should approve of it. All our principal managers and patrons who are in town, and amongst the rest Sir Joseph Banks, warmly support the plan. I hope you will add your name to theirs. I know that we shall find you a warm patron of all that can exalt and extend science. I am, Dear Sir, with the greatest respect, your truly obliged servant,

H. DAVY.

December 1809.

The plan I heartily approved of, and undertook to carry the bill through the House of Commons. In return, I had the

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\* Besides £.100 *per annum* for lecturing, he received for his lectures, £.1000 from a bookseller.



pleasure of receiving the following resolution of the managers, dated 23d of April 1810.

*Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of the Managers be returned to Sir John Sinclair, Bart. for the attention he has given, in conducting the bill of the Institution through the House of Commons.*

J. P. AURIOL, Sec.

Sir Humphry highly approved of the medical work I had ventured to publish. In a letter, dated September 22. 1807, he says, "I have just been perusing your Code of Health and Longevity, from which I have received much pleasure and information. The work cannot fail to be a public benefit; for no species of composition is more impressive than that in which maxims are illustrated by facts."

In 1810 I urged him strongly to publish his agricultural lectures, which he promised should be done as speedily as possible; and he embraced that opportunity of congratulating me on a seat in the Council, which he considered a circumstance of peculiar importance, as a prelude to a sure and uniform patronage of science and useful arts by the government and the public.

*To the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*

9th September 1810.

MY DEAR SIR,

I congratulate you very sincerely on your being elected of the Privy Council. It would be a glorious circumstance for our age if this were to be the prelude to an uniform patronage of the public objects of science and useful art, on which the glory and prosperity of the country must ultimately depend.

I shall prepare for the press my agricultural lectures as speedily as possible. I am, my Dear Sir, very truly, with great respect, your obliged and obedient servant,

H. DAVY.

The subjoined letter is a compliment to the society of Edinburgh, which will be duly appreciated by those, whose minds are not perverted by the enervating pleasures of an overgrown and luxurious metropolis, or the frivolities of foreign travel.

London, January 18. 1812.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter arrived in Dublin after I left that city, and has been travelling after me. I received it only a few days ago, in this place. It is not now in my power to accept of your obliging invitation to visit Edinburgh, *the social intercourse of which is the universal theme of admiration.*

I hope your plans for rendering it still more delightful, will be attended with merited success. I am, &c.

#### 6.—DR BLACK.

I occasionally corresponded with this celebrated character, who was not only a distinguished philosopher, but a worthy man, as sufficiently appear from a correspondence I had with him, regarding a subscription in this country for relieving the widow of Raspe, a German, who had been employed in examining the mineral state of Scotland.

I am happy also, to embrace this opportunity of proving, from the most satisfactory evidence, that of M. Montgolfier himself, that the invention of balloons was altogether owing to Dr Black's discoveries.

#### *On the Invention of Balloons.*

Towards the conclusion of the year 1785, some circumstances occurred, which induced me to take a short excursion from London to Paris, and accidentally I went in company with three distinguished foreigners, namely, *Argand*, so well known for his improvements in the art of making lamps; *Reveillon*, the greatest manufacturer of paper hangings then

known, (having about five hundred workmen in his employment) ; and *Montgolfier*, so celebrated for his discovery of balloons. I was able to obtain much useful information from the conversation of these intelligent men ; and I remember, in particular, that the *latter*, (M. Montgolfier), gave an account of the origin of his discovery, of which the following is the substance.

Montgolfier said, that he and his brother were paper manufacturers in Languedoc, but had always felt a strong attachment to chemical and mathematical inquiries. They were thence led to procure all the information they could regarding those subjects. It seems that Montgolfier and his brother had talked over the possibility of being able to ascend themselves, or to send up large bodies from the earth, at a very early period, without, however, having ever made any experiment to prove whether the idea was practicable or not ; but having accidentally read an account of some experiments made by Dr Black, which explained the nature of the various kinds of airs or gases, and, in particular, their difference in point of weight, he immediately said to his brother, “ The possibility of effecting what we talked of some time ago, seems to be proved by this foreign chemist : Let us try some experiments to ascertain its practicability.” The progress of the discovery afterwards is well known. It is doubtful whether the attempt would ever have been made, had not the brothers been paper manufacturers as well as chemists ; but the point which should be generally known is this, that had it not been for Dr Black’s discoveries, no experiment would probably have been tried by the two Montgolfiers. This I can assert upon the evidence of the elder Montgolfier, who was one of the most candid and able men I have met with, and who always mentioned Dr Black with that respect to which he was so peculiarly entitled.

Whether the invention of balloons will ever prove of any real service to mankind, is certainly a matter of doubt. Possibly they may answer more important purposes than hitherto

have been discovered. Perhaps farther discoveries regarding the nature of the atmosphere, the powers of gravitation, &c. may be made, when balloons are tried by philosophic men, in the steady and regular climates of the East Indies, instead of the cold and stormy regions of Europe. But the invention is most assuredly curious, if it should never prove useful, and it was desirable to publish a fact regarding the invention of balloons, not hitherto known, and which may do some credit to the memory of Dr Black, one of the ablest and most respectable philosophers that Europe has yet to boast of.

#### 7.—PROFESSOR PLAYFAIR.

Among the greatest ornaments of the University of Edinburgh, there is none who has done it more credit in the mathematical department, than Professor John Playfair. He took a leading part in establishing a Royal Society for literary purposes at Edinburgh, and acted as one of its Secretaries. In that capacity, I had the pleasure of receiving from him the following letter:

Edinburgh, 26th June 1798.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that you was yesterday elected a resident member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. By a *resident member* is understood one, who, whether living in Edinburgh or not, has a right to be chosen to any of the offices of the Society, and who contributes £. 1, 1s. annually to the funds of the Society.

Permit me to add, that it is with peculiar pleasure that I convey this intelligence to one, whose endeavours to promote knowledge, have been of such singular benefit to his country. I am, Sir, with due respect, your obedient and humble servant,

JOHN PLAYFAIR,

One of the Sec. of the R. S. of Ed.

## 8.—PROFESSOR DUGALD STEWART.

This distinguished philosopher, was justly entitled to be considered one of the most eminent persons of his time. His works do not require any eulogium from me, as they are universally accounted among the most valuable, that even the last century produced, and rival those of Plato. I have much pleasure in printing the following letter regarding the education of my son, as it will furnish some useful hints to other parents :

DEAR SIR,

My absence from Edinburgh during our Christmas holidays, and my indispensable engagements since my return, have prevented me hitherto from acknowledging the honour of your letter, and offering my thanks, for the flattering manner in which you have mentioned my name, in the paper you have been so good as to send me.

The age at which you propose that your son should attend the lectures on moral philosophy, is certainly sufficiently early. For my own part, I should have been disposed to recommend a delay of this branch of his education till a somewhat later period, as the view which I take of my subject, is calculated for those whose academical studies are drawing to a close, and who are about to enter on the business of life. Your general plan, however, I can easily perceive, does not admit of alteration in this respect ; and the enlargement of mind, which your son must derive from his previous residence abroad, cannot fail to give him great advantages over such of his contemporaries as enter on the study of ethics, with no other preparation than a knowledge of languages.

I am sorry that your arrangements also, exclude the possibility of his receiving any part of his classical education here, as I am persuaded that, in this respect, Edinburgh is much improved since the period, (to which I often look back with pleasure) when you and I passed so many years together un-

der the same teachers \*. In the different departments of mathematical science, I need not say, that our university never possessed a higher reputation.

I am too little acquainted with the state of education in Germany, to give any opinion about that part of your proposal. I confess, I have a strong partiality myself in favour of the academical establishment at *Geneva*, from what I know personally of the talents and character of the present professors; particularly of Mr Prevost and of Mr Pictet; and I shall be much mistaken, if the exertions which they have been making for several years past, do not soon attract general notice.

It gives me real satisfaction to observe the stress you lay on the utility, both of academical attainments, and of foreign travel, to young men who are destined for public life; and I hope, that your example will have great weight with those whose fortune and rank encourage them, when they are forming plans of education for their children, to indulge similar expectations. I ever am, with great regard, Dear Sir, your faithful and most obedient servant,

DUGALD STEWART.

Lothian-House, Edinburgh,  
28th Jan. 1802.

#### 9.—THE EARL OF BUCHAN.

The Buchan family produced, at the same time, three men eminent for talent; the Lord Chancellor Erskine,—the Honourable Henry Erskine, who rose to be at the head of the Scotch bar,—and the Earl of Buchan, who was not inferior to either in ability, though unfortunately it was accompanied with much eccentricity of character.

Among a number of letters with which he favoured me, I think the following will afford a fair specimen of his style of writing, and of the talent with which he wrote :

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\* We were both educated at the High School of Edinburgh.

Dryburgh Abbey, Nov. 9. 1801.

MY DEAR SIR,

I had the pleasure yesterday to receive your letter of the 5th, with its agreeable inclosure respecting the county of Caithness, which has my hearty good wishes.

I always liked *your bold dashing conduct*, in favour of the knowledge and improvement of your country ; and I am glad now to see, that you are concentrating that spirit, in behalf of your own province. The present situation of Britain ought to be favourable to your views ; because the only successful policy we can adopt, as a nation, is that of superior industry and dexterity in all our operations of agriculture, trade, and manufacture ; and if we can keep but half a length, or even half a neck, in the race with rival nations, there will be no fear of us.

You know I am no *quid nunc*, no modern politician, no partizan ; and so I am on high ground, when I tell you, that I like the peace, and the makers of it.

I like the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, (Mr Addington), the better for his having been long in the trammels of a Speaker of the House of Commons ; and having been more accustomed to hear and to act, than to harangue and to disturb.

If the son of my old friend Chatham, instead of having been brought from College, to govern a great nation, had been nursed like Addington, or bred up in the school of adversity, like the old cock his father, he would have been in a more amiable and honourable situation, and certainly in a more useful one, than he is, or can be, at present.

Internal improvement, economy in finance, a free trade, as much unshackled by monopoly as possible, labour, saving machines in all our departments of skill and dexterity, mild and moderate administration in Government, with a free press, and free scope to honest, harmless sentiment, are the only means by which we can preserve our station in Europe ; for this will keep us mistress of the seas, and of the affections of

our subjects and allies, and will keep the peace until our strength is fully restored, and our public debts brought within compass.

I intend coming to Edinburgh for the term on Wednesday ; and about the end of the month I shall see you at London, when I go on some private business, and to appear, *for the last time*, on the southern horizon.

Lady Buchan joins in affectionate respects to Lady Sinclair, and love to the children. And I remain, my Dear Sir John, your sincere friend, and obliged humble servant,

BUCHAN.

10.—SIR DAVID DALRYMPLE, BART. LORD HAILES.

Among the eminent Judges that Scotland has produced, there is none whose character stands higher, not only for legal knowledge, but for general information and ability, than the late Lord Hailes. I frequently consulted with him regarding literary matters. He was a warm friend to the Statistical Account of Scotland ; and when I submitted to his consideration, a plan for drawing up a work on the finances of the country, he sent me the following remarks upon it. His doctrine is perfectly just, that the value of any particular division of an empire, ought not to be estimated, merely from the pecuniary sums it produces, but must also depend on the number of brave and useful men it rears for the service of the state. In this respect Scotland and Ireland will stand a fair comparison with their sister kingdom.

SIR,

I was favoured with a copy of your book just at the sitting down of the session, when my avocations prevented me from taking notice of any thing foreign to them.

Your plan is great, and it will require all your abilities, knowledge, and perseverance to complete it.



In the course of your work, might I adventure to give any hint to one so much better informed than I am, all *minutiae* of shillings and pence ought to be omitted. To give a notion of taxes, produce, &c., odd hundreds serve no purpose. Raynal, by his fractional accuracy, makes the ignorant wonder at him, but does not add to their knowledge.

It seems to me, that your intended Supplement as to Scotland and Ireland, will rather hurt than benefit your work. Could you ascertain *the value of a man given to the state for military service*, you might shew, what those brave and poor nations contributed to the public. Without this, the English vulgar, that is ninety-nine out of a hundred, will try *their* importance by *the rule of three*. The result will be arithmetically right, but politically wrong beyond all calculation. I am, Sir, with great regard, your most obedient humble servant,

DAV. DALRYMPLE.

New Hailes, 26th August 1785.

#### 11.—DR KELLY, EDITOR OF THE CAMBIST.

In a letter addressed to the Bank of England, I had strongly recommended the translation of a work from the German, called "*The Cambist*," which gives a more complete account of the nature of mercantile exchanges than any publication that had been printed. I stated to the directors, that the intricacies of exchange were but little known in this country, which was a great disadvantage to our commercial transactions; and that it was of the utmost consequence to have such a work generally accessible. This recommendation remained for some time a dead letter; but, fortunately, the idea was taken up by Dr Kelly, of Finsbury Square, in London, and at last was patronised by the Government as well as the Bank.

The subjoined letter from the Doctor, explains fully the successful progress that had been made in this publication.

Finsbury Square, Feb. 7. 1822.

SIR,

I feel highly honoured by your letter, which appears to me replete with sound principles and unanswerable arguments. The printed papers which it incloses are of the same character, and ought to be widely circulated at this important crisis. Copies ought to be sent to every member of both Houses of Parliament. Something must be done to mitigate the agricultural distress; and you have, in very clear and forcible language, pointed out the causes of that distress, as well as the most probable means of giving permanent relief.

I now beg to turn to another subject, in which you have been essentially concerned. By the inclosed prospectus, you will see the success of my *Cambist*, which, indeed, may be also called *your Cambist*, as it owes its origin to your letter to the Bank Directors, written in 1797.

You will feel a *parental interest* in seeing that the British Government has given essential support to the new edition, by issuing orders to all his Majesty's consuls abroad, to send home attested specimens of foreign standards, and various other specifications and documents relating to the different subjects of the work; and I have the satisfaction to assure you, that the results of all those experiments, at home and abroad, are incorporated in the new edition; and that in all the calculations the strictest attention has been paid to accuracy.

That you may long continue to enjoy health and comfort, with the conscious pleasure of having been essentially useful to your country, in various ways, is the sincere wish of your very faithful servant,

P. KELLY.

12.—JOHN HOME, ESQ. AUTHOR OF DOUGLAS.

There could not be a livelier or more agreeable companion than the author of *Douglas*; and his merits, as a dramatic

author, are well known. By his talents, he was early in life introduced into the best company that Scotland afforded. Claret was at that time the favourite liquor ; and owing to its being admitted into the port of Leith, on Spanish instead of French duties, it was cheap, and was drunk in great quantities. A naval officer, who happened to be stationed in the Frith of Forth, by transmitting information to the Treasury, put a stop to this illegal advantage. The price of claret was so much increased, in consequence of this additional duty, that many *bon vivants* were obliged to renounce it, and betake themselves to port ; and in despair, at one of their convivial meetings, they applied to their friend John Home, to write some verses, expressive of their feelings. He immediately produced the following :

Bold and erect the Caledonian stood ;  
 Old was his mutton, and his claret good ;  
 Make him drink port ! an English statesman cried,  
 He drank the poison, and his spirit died.

Fortunately, it has since been found by experience, that port is no poison, and that Caledonian spirit does not depend upon the drinking of claret ; but the anecdote is worth preserving, as an instance of the ridiculous prejudices of former times.

The following communication will give an idea of Mr Home's epistolary style of writing :

MY DEAR SIR,

David Home, my nephew, a half-pay Lieutenant in the Marines, and at present an officer in the Royal Volunteers at Edinburgh, is desirous of serving in your new regiment, provided he can have a company. As I have seen your letter to some of the clergymen here, concerning the new levy, I should have made Dr Blair or Dr Carlyle write to you, as you desire the gentlemen of that profession, to recommend their friends ; but it is such a wet snowy day, that I cannot go abroad ; and write this, lest by delay the companies should

be engaged. David Home is an officer who has seen service ; for he commanded the marines of a line-of-battle ship in Rodney's sea fight, and had two or three files of men swept from his side. I called yesterday for Lady Sinclair, but she was not at home, else I should have requested her to recommend my nephew, as a fair Lady, seems to be a more natural patron of a brave officer, than any Doctor of Divinity. When you have leisure to answer this, please to let me know if your companies are not engaged, and I shall get as many doctors as you please to recommend. Your circular letter points well to keep up a communication with the clergy, who have served you in your statistical account, which will long remain the materials of history. I am, Sir, your most faithful and obedient servant,

JOHN HOME.

Edinburgh, 20th January 1795,  
North Hanover Street.

### 13.—ROBERT POLLOK,

Author of "The Course of Time."

This distinguished young poet, (a native of Renfrewshire, in the west of Scotland), was born in October 1798. He received a regular academical education, having studied at the University of Glasgow, during ten sessions. His celebrated work, "THE COURSE OF TIME," was published in May 1827 ; and in the same month, its author was licensed to preach. His health, however, had been so much impaired, by his successive exertions in preparing his poem for the press, and carrying on the printing, that, after a few trials, he was under the necessity of relinquishing the labours of his profession ; and being threatened with complaints, which, in the opinion of some eminent physicians, rendered a residence in a milder climate the only probable means of restoring his health, it be-

came indispensably necessary for him to repair to the Continent without delay.

It was by mere accident, (the work being highly spoken of by a lady), that I heard of this publication; and as it is a duty incumbent upon those, who are anxious to promote the literature of a country, to encourage talent whenever it appears, I lost no time in purchasing the work, and was delighted to find, that it displayed great marks of original genius. I found the conception grand, the execution masterly; and, on the whole, it seemed to me the most extraordinary production that had appeared for some time, more especially as connected with religious subjects.

As it was most important to preserve the life of a young person possessed of such eminent talents, I requested a respectable dissenting clergyman, who warmly patronised him, (Mr Brown of Rose Street), to favour me with a call, accompanied by Mr Pollok, that we might settle some plan for his visiting the Continent. Upon seeing him, I regretted much to find him already reduced to such a state, as furnished but little prospect of his recovery. It was proper, however, to try the effects of a visit to the Continent, if his health would enable him to go there; and the funds necessary for a continental tour having been raised, he went to London, to prepare for it. The physicians there, immediately pronounced his case to be quite hopeless; and instead of going abroad, he went, accompanied by a sister, to Southampton, and he died in a village near it.

I had recommended him to a much valued friend, to whom it immediately occurred, that if Mr Pollok did recover, he might be of immense use in the East Indies, and that the climate there might be more favourable to his health, than a colder region. On that subject I received the following letter, which is highly creditable to the generosity and feeling of a British senator, who delights in doing generous actions:

*Letter from a Friend regarding Mr Pollok.*

“ I have to apologise for not replying sooner to your note of

the 20th August respecting the *Renfrewshire bard*, whom you so kindly patronize ; but you will observe, by the last “ Oriental Herald,” that I had not lost sight of him. Whether the hint therein given to the East India Directors, may lead to any thing for Mr Pollok’s advantage, I know not ; but such an appointment might be worth trying for ; and he would be an acquisition to the Scots Church, particularly at Calcutta, where such a character is much wanted.”

“ In the mean time, I have the pleasure to inclose a bank post bill for ten pounds, to assist Mr Pollok in proceeding to the Continent, for the benefit of his health. Should he come to London, and favour me with a call, I shall be happy to see him.”

“ Sincerely wishing success to all your benevolent and patriotic pursuits, I remain, with regard,” &c. &c.

The following specimens will give the reader some idea of the sublimity and pathos of this superior poet :

*Description of Lord Byron’s Poetry.*

He touched his harp, and nations heard, entranced ;  
 As some vast river of unfailing source,  
 Rapid, exhaustless, deep, his numbers flowed.  
 ————— All passions of all men,  
 The wild and tame,—the gentle and severe ;  
 All thoughts, all maxims sacred and profane,  
 All creeds, all seasons, Time—Eternity ;  
 All that was hated, and all that was dear,  
 All that was hoped, all that was fear’d by man,  
 He tossed about as tempest withered leaves ;  
 Then smiling look’d upon the wreck he made.

Byron himself never endited any verses more sublime than the following :

As some fierce comet of tremendous size,  
 To which the stars did reverence as it pass’d ;  
 So he, through learning, and through fancy took  
 His flight sublime ; and on the loftiest top  
 Of fame’s dread mountain sat : not soiled, and worn,  
 As if he from the earth had laboured up ;  
 But as some bird of heavenly plumage fair

He looked, which down from higher regions came,  
And perched it there, to see what lay beneath.

His description of Scotland is in the highest vein of poetry.

Nor do I of that isle remember aught  
Of prospect more sublime and beautiful,  
Than Scotia's northern battlement of hills,  
Which first I from my father's house beheld,  
At dawn of life ; beloved in memory still ;  
And standard still of rural imagery :  
What most resembles them, the fairest seems,  
And stirs the eldest sentiments of bliss ;  
And pictured on the tablet of my heart,  
Their distant shapes eternally remain,  
And in my dreams their cloudy tops arise.

I have the pleasure of adding, that nine editions of the work have been already published, (in all fifteen thousand copies,) by the sale of which a considerable sum has been raised, and sent to his parents, (who required it much), and to his sister, who accompanied him to Southampton, and attended him during his last illness.

By the balance of the sum raised to defray the expenses of his intended journey to the Continent, with the consent of the subscribers, a monument of Peterhead granite is to be erected, in the church-yard of the parish where he died, which is situated in the neighbourhood of Southampton.

**PART XIV.**

**MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE.**





## MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE.

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THIS, perhaps, is the most interesting, and certainly, in some instances, the most curious class of letters in my whole correspondence. The effect upon the mind must be singular and striking, to have the productions of so many various characters brought successively in review before it, with such preliminary hints as are necessary, to explain the circumstances which occasioned their letters being written.

### 1.—CHRISTOPHE, KING OF HAITI.

A gentleman of my acquaintance, who had visited St Domingo, informed me, that Christophe, who had established himself as king of that country, was extremely anxious to promote the happiness of his subjects; and had expressed a wish of entering into correspondence with the President of the British Board of Agriculture, and the Author of the Code of Health. I was thence induced to send a copy of that work to the new Sovereign, with a letter; to which, in due course, I received the following answer:

Au Palais de Sans Souci, 26. Avril 1818,  
L'an 15. de l'Independence.

Le Roi, Au tres Honorable Sir John Sinclair, Baronet.

MONSIEUR,

J'ai reçu, avec la lettre que vous m'avez fait le plaisir de m'écrire, le Code de Santé et de Longevité, ouvrage donc vous êtes l'auteur, de même que des notes intéressantes, dont je ferai mon profit, lorsque je serai à meme d'exécuter divers projets sur les différentes branches qu'elles traitent. Je ne manquerai pas de vous écrire pour vous prier de m'aider de vos lumières.

Recever, Monsieur, avec mes remerciemens, les assurances de ma parfaite consideration,

(Signed)      CHRISTOPHE \*.

## 2.—THE PERSIAN AMBASSADOR.

The Persians, though fallen from their former greatness, and from the state of their government and religion, not likely to recover their political importance, are an intelligent and polished people. I had frequent conversations with the Ambassador who had been sent to our Court, and found him intelligent and well informed. He visited Scotland, and made a short stay at Edinburgh, when we discussed the subject of health, for the restoration of which, he contended, that the

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\* Translation.

Palace of Sans Souci, 26th April 1818,  
15th Year of Independence.

SIR,

I have received, along with the letter which you have done me the favour to write to me, the Code of Health and Longevity, a work of which you are the author, as well as of the interesting notes, of which I shall take advantage as soon as I have it in my power to execute various projects connected with the different branches of which they treat. I shall not fail to write to you, to request you to aid me with your suggestions.

Accept, Sir, together with my thanks, the assurances of my perfect regard.

(Signed)      CHRISTOPHE.

Persian physicians were greatly superior to the English. During a visit he paid to the Duke of Hamilton, I sent him some thoughts upon that subject, to which I received the following answer, dated Hamilton Palace, November 7. 1819 :

“ The Persian Ambassador presents his compliments to Sir John Sinclair, and begs leave to say, that he will send him, as soon as he returns to “ *Tehzaun*,” a chest of medicines, together with various treatises by some learned *Hachems*, (physicians) ; also a popular work upon the different complaints and diseases now common in Persia, with the modes of cure thereof. A particular case, relative to a lunatic patient, well merits the attention of the medical world ; and he hopes the information derived from that source, will be an acceptable addition to the Pyramid of Codes.”

I regret to add, that I never received either the chest of medicines, or the work alluded to. It would be very desirable, however, that any British minister who may be sent to the Court of Persia, should ascertain how far the Ambassador's eulogiums on the skill of Persian physicians are well founded.

The case he mentions, of an extraordinary cure being performed on a lunatic patient, deserves peculiar attention.

### 3.—THE MIRZA ABU TALEB KHAN.

This native of Persia devoted no less a period than about five years, (from the year 1799 to the year 1803, both inclusive), to travelling through Asia, Africa, and Europe. He wrote an account of his travels in Persian, which was translated into English, by Charles Stewart, Esq. Professor of Oriental Languages at the East India College, in Hertfordshire. It was printed in 1814. The following paragraph is an extract from it :

“ Among the literary characters with whom I had the honour of being acquainted, were Sir Frederick Eden, Sir John Sinclair, and Sir Joseph Banks. The first of these has written several treatises on different subjects. The second is well skilled in husbandry and agriculture, and has therefore been placed by the King at the head of a society for the encouragement of these useful arts. This gentleman paid me much attention, and frequently took me with him ten or twenty miles into the country, to look at various objects of curiosity. One evening, after visiting his son, who was at the school of Sunbury, (with the inspection of which I was much delighted), when we arrived at his door, he ordered the coachman to drive on to my house, and first put me down. I represented to him, that although my house was still two miles farther off, as I was in the constant habit of walking the streets, I should prefer going home on foot, and would not either trouble his servants to carry me so far, or encroach upon his time by carrying him so much out of his way. He, however, refused either to put me down, or to get out himself; and when I pressed him to explain the motives of his conduct, he replied, ‘ In this world we are all liable to accidents; and if it should by chance happen that you this night met with any misfortune, I should never forgive myself.’ At the house of Sir John I frequently had the pleasure of meeting some of the most respectable characters in England. In particular, he did me the honour of introducing me to Lord Sheffield, by whom I was most sumptuously entertained.”

At one of the dinners I gave to the Mirza, the celebrated Dr Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, was present. The Bishop observed that the Persian took wine very freely, upon which he said to him, “ Mirza, how comes this? Is not drinking wine prohibited by the Koran?” Upon which the Persian said, “ I take it *by inference*. In the Koran it is said, that we may take whatever is good for our health. I am inform-

ed that taking wine, in this country, is good for the health ; and *therefore I infer*, that I may take it consistently with the precepts of the Koran."

He was remarkable for his good health, and said, " That he never recollected having been once ill in his whole life."

#### 4.—" THAYADENEGBA," (CAPTAIN BRANT.)

This Indian warrior, a native of the woods of America, came over to this country, and from his known attachment to the English interest, met here with a very favourable reception. He felt a particular regard for the Scotch Highlanders, whose dress and hardy habits he much admired ; and indeed he said, it was commonly believed by the American Indians, that one of their most celebrated tribes had been lost, and that the Highlanders must be descended from it. When informed of this national attachment, I took Captain Brant to a meeting of the Highland Society of London, where he was delighted to see the Highland dress, customs, and mode of dancing, and to hear the Highland bagpipe, in its greatest perfection. On his leaving London, he sent me the following note :

Captain Brant presents his compliments to Sir John Sinclair,—is very sorry he can't have the honour to wait on him to-morrow, as he is very busy preparing for his departure for Canada, having had warning from the captain of the ship he is to sail in, to have all his things on board in the course of next week.

Saturday Evening.

Sir William Pulteney having heard so much of Thayadenegba's respect for me, was led to request, that I would recommend his agent in America, to the friendship of this dis-

tinguished warrior ; and I understand that the letter I gave to the agent, was of material service to the new settlement.

5.—EDMUND KEAN, ESQ. THE CELEBRATED ACTOR.

Mr Kean performed the character of Macbeth, on the Edinburgh stage, in October 1819, and it was one of the most perfect specimens of acting I had ever witnessed. Several of my friends being of the same opinion, we resolved to present him with a sword, as a proof of the high idea we entertained of his theatrical abilities. The intention was communicated to Mr Kean in the following letter :

SIR,

Some of your friends in this city, became extremely desirous of presenting you, with a mark of the high estimation which they entertain, for your talents, as an actor, more especially having witnessed the very superior manner in which you performed the character of “ Macbeth.” After considering the subject, it was at last resolved, to present you with “ *A Sword of State*,” to be worn, when you appear upon the stage in that tragedy, as “ *The crowned King of Scotland*.” I have much pleasure in sending you the sword, which is prepared by some of our ablest artists, for the purpose of being transmitted to you. It is “ *of the true Highland make ;*” and ornamented with some of the most valuable precious stones that Scotland produces. “ Macbeth” is, on the whole, the greatest effort of dramatic genius the world has yet produced ; and none has hitherto attempted to represent the Scottish tyrant, who has done, or could possibly do, more justice to that character, than the gentleman to whom I have now the honour of addressing myself.

The presentation of this sword reminds me of two particulars.

1. The swords, in ancient times, were large and weighty, and the scabbards broad at the point. Hence, in Shakespeare, Hotspur describes himself, (Part I. Henry IV. Act 1. Scene 3.) “*leaning upon his sword ;*” that is to say, resting upon it in the scabbard. The sword also was not carried in belts attached to the person, (which, with a large and heavy sword, would have been too cumbersome), but was either held in the right hand, or carried in the left arm, the elbow being bent for that purpose. In battle, when the sword was drawn, *the scabbard was thrown away*, to imply, as that phrase denotes, that the combat was to terminate with the death of one of the parties.

2. There is reason to believe, that Shakespeare collected materials for “*The Tragedy of Macbeth*,” on the spot where many of the transactions took place. It is recorded in Guthrie’s History of Scotland, that Queen Elizabeth sent some English actors to the court of her successor, James, which was then held at Perth ; and, it is supposed, that Shakespeare was one of the number. This idea receives strong confirmation by the following striking circumstance. The Castle of Dunsinane is situated about seven or eight miles from Perth. When I examined, some years ago, the remains of that castle, and the scenes in its neighbourhood, I found, that the traditions of the country people *were identically the same as the story represented in Shakespeare*. There was but one exception. The tradition is, that “*Macbeth*” endeavoured to escape, when he found the castle no longer tenable. Being pursued by Macduff, he ran up an adjoining hill, but instead of being slain in single combat by Macduff, (which Shakespeare preferred, as being a more interesting dramatic incident), the country people said, that, in despair, he threw himself over a precipice ; at the bottom of which, there still remains “*The Giant’s grave*,” where, it is supposed, that “*Macbeth*” was buried. When you next visit Scotland, it would be interesting to take an early opportunity of examining these classic scenes.



With my best wishes, that you may long continue an ornament to the British theatre, I remain, Sir, your very obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN SINCLAIR.

133. George Street, Edinburgh,  
16th November 1819.

Edmund Kean, Esq. Clarges Street, London.

In Mr Kean's answer, which is subjoined, there are some just remarks on the hazardous profession of an actor.

November 27. 1819.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, announcing the transmission of a valuable sword, which you teach me to receive as a token of the flattering estimation, in which my professional exertions, in the northern capital, are held by yourself, and a portion of that public, to whose fostering indulgence I am already bound in lasting gratitude. To those unknown patrons, in whose name you have been pleased, in such gratifying terms, to address me, I beg you will convey the assurance, that their kindness has not been lavished, where it is not duly appreciated and deeply felt. I am happy in the conviction, that I shall only do justice to their *intentions*, in receiving this sword, as at once a record of national liberality, and Scottish patronage of the stage.

May I not recognise as this their object, in their selection of the distinguished pen which has honoured me with the communication, as well as the costume of the present itself, which you are pleased to inform me is strictly national, both in its character and ornaments.

Permit me to add, Sir, that my own feelings could know no higher gratification, than to be instructed in the belief, that I may have been the fortunate instrument of increasing the number of the patrons of our art; the difficulties of which may, in some measure, be appreciated, by the rarity and

instability of success, and in which we but too sensibly feel, how necessary is public protection, to encourage and sustain us, even in our least chequered and unclouded career. I have the honour to be, Sir, with grateful respects, your very obliged servant,

(Signed) EDMUND KEAN.

Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

When our intention was first intimated to Mr Kean, he said, "That the approbation of the Edinburgh audience, he had ever rated, *as one of the proudest feathers in his dramatic plume*, and the testimony proposed, he would treasure with the most zealous regard and gratitude."

#### 6.—SIR WILLIAM NAIRNE, BART.

Regarding the Castle of Dunsinane.

I have long felt an ardent wish, to see some building erected on a spot, not only celebrated in history, but immortalised in the splendid effusions of Shakespeare, as the Hill of Dunsinane. I visited this celebrated place as far back as the year 1772, when only about eighteen years of age, and found a number of people in the neighbourhood, from whom I learnt all the traditions of the country, and was astonished to discover that they corresponded so much with the incidents detailed in Shakespeare's drama.

Dunsinane Hill, (which in Gaelic means "The hill of ants,") is supposed to have derived that name, from the great number of persons employed in erecting the fortress on its top. It is situated about ten miles S. S. E. from Birnam wood; six miles N. E. from Perth, and stands isolated in the Sidla ridge of hills, in the form of a sugar loaf, a thousand feet above the level of the sea, and six hundred above its own base. Its flat summit is always beautifully verdant. There is still

the appearance of several parapet walls, ditches, and outposts, ascribed to Macbeth. The original height of the rampart, which is about two hundred feet in diameter, cannot now be ascertained; but, from the immense mass remaining, it must have been very considerable. Several openings into this mass have been made, and it appeared to consist of whin and quarry stones, mortar, and slates, which must have been brought from a distance. In the sections across the area, on the top, scorched grain, charcoal, burnt fir, and oak beams, and the bones of horses, cattle, sheep, &c. were found, so that the fortress seems to have been destroyed by fire. It must be the earnest wish of every antiquary, that the spot were more thoroughly explored, as perhaps the most celebrated monument of antiquity in Scotland.

Impressed with these ideas, I earnestly advised Sir William Nairne, who, as one of the Scotch Judges, was called Lord Dunsinnan, to erect a monument on the top of that celebrated eminence, and, in return, had the honour of receiving from him the following answer :

Dunsinnan, 6th September 1808.

SIR,

I have had the honour to receive your letter. The public is under great obligations to you, for the active industry which you have employed, in investigating and preserving the antiquities of the country, and I return thanks for that part of it, which you have been pleased to bestow on what concerns my property. Although I am not sure if the fine green top upon the black hill, which affords evident marks of manual labour and habitation, would receive much embellishment from any thing that could be built upon it, yet I should willingly give my consent to any gentleman, who thought it would be ornamental to the country, to make such an erection as you should approve of, because I am sure it would be in the best taste; but, as to myself, the truth is, that I have been laying out so much of my money in the valley, that I really could

not at present afford any thing to the hill. I am, however, much obliged to you for suggesting the idea, whether it should or should not be hereafter realised.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient and faithful servant,

WM. NAIRNE.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

However much attached to the improvements of agriculture, I could not help lamenting that the cultivation of the valley, should, in this case, prevent the embellishment of the hill.

There is little chance of any thing being effected for promoting so desirable an object, except by public subscription, the amount of which might be laid out under the direction of the Antiquarian Societies of Perth and Edinburgh.

7.—JAMES BRUCE, ESQ. OF KINNAIRD, THE ABYSSINIAN TRAVELLER.

No doubt, I believe, is now entertained, by impartial inquirers, regarding the veracity of this celebrated traveller, as the various accounts he gave of the country he visited, have since been confirmed by the evidence of persons who have resided in Abyssinia. He was by some considered to be a repulsive and uncourteous character, but, in my intercourse with him, he was quite the reverse; and it is impossible for any one to write a letter, penned with more courtesy, than the one I subjoin. I had accidentally purchased a work respecting a discovery of the sources of the Nile, which I thought might interest him, and of which I requested his acceptance. His answer was as follows:

Kinnaird House, Aug. 21. 1790.

SIR,

I have received the honour of yours of yesterday's date, and am very much obliged to you, for the old edition of Father Jeronymo, which I never had before seen.

I see the publishers have very judiciously left out a great deal of the stories, that do that historian and his translator little credit. I shall, when bound, place it in my library, among the tracts I have received from the indulgence of my friends. When writing upon the country, the subject of that Jesuit's performance, I shall mention, with the gratitude I ought, the honourable name of the donor.

I beg the favour that you will believe, if I can be of any sort of use to you here, that you may at all times command my best services; and that I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient faithful humble servant,

JAMES BRUCE.

## 8.—DAVID WILKIE, ESQ. THE CELEBRATED PAINTER.

I happened to dine in company with Mr Wilkie, the celebrated painter, and, in the course of the conversation, asked him "How he came to adopt that profession?" I inquired, "Had your father, or your mother, or any of your relations a turn for painting? or what led you to follow that line?" Upon which Mr Wilkie said, "The truth, Sir John, is, *that YOU made me a painter.*" "How, I! (with astonishment I exclaimed), I never had the pleasure of meeting with you before." To which Mr Wilkie replied, "When you were drawing up the Statistical Account of Scotland, my father, who was a clergyman in Fife, had much correspondence with you respecting his parish, in the course of which you sent him a coloured drawing of a soldier, in the uniform of your Highland Fencible regiment. I was so delighted with the

sight, that I was constantly drawing copies of it, and that made *me a painter.*"

Some copies of the engraving, which was productive of such a fortunate result, are still extant.

It is astonishing on what trifling incidents the choice of a profession depends, and it is singular that two circumstances, so totally unconnected with each other, as my having drawn up the Statistical Account of Scotland, and having raised a regiment of Fencibles, *when combined*, should have contributed to form so celebrated an artist. Mr Wilkie's father, who was minister of the parish of Cults, in Fife, was a remarkably able man, and particularly distinguished for knowledge in mathematics and arithmetic. He wrote a very clever work, called "*The Theory of Interest*," of which I wished to procure a copy; and having applied to his son for that purpose, I had the pleasure of receiving from him the following answer:

Cambo House, Crail, Oct. 20. 1824.

DEAR SIR,

The work by my late father, to which you are pleased to allude, *The Theory of Interest*, was subsequently published by him, but is now, from the lapse of years, entirely dispersed. Should there be, however, upon my return to Kensington, any copy remaining at hand, be assured it will give me very great pleasure to be allowed the honour of presenting it to you, in memory of that respect which my father entertained for one, whose friendship and good opinion he was, while he lived, so justly proud of. I have the honour to be, with high esteem, Dear Sir, your very faithful servant,

DAVID WILKIE.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

## 9.—JOHN LOUDON MACADAM, ESQ. ; AND

WILLIAM NICOL, ESQ. OF PALL-MALL.

In the year 1811, I had moved for the appointment of a select committee, to take into consideration the laws regarding the highways of the kingdom, and was appointed the chairman. The year preceding, I had received, as President of the Board of Agriculture, some communications from Mr Macadam, who then resided at Bristol, stating his opinion, that the system of road-making practised throughout the kingdom was faulty, and unnecessarily expensive. Having paid much attention to road-making, and being highly pleased with Mr Macadam's opinions upon the subject, I resolved to bring them before the committee ; and to give them a better chance of success, I got the information sent by him arranged and condensed, so as to render it more attractive. In that form, Mr Macadam's system was inserted in the Appendix to the Report of the Committee, printed an. 1811, where it attracted much public attention.

The approbation which Mr Macadam's system thus received from parliamentary authority, encouraged him to persevere in his pursuits. He continued to employ himself in procuring all the information in his power, regarding the art he had undertaken to improve ; and in 1815, he prevailed on his colleagues in the Bristol district, to place their roads, (about 150 miles in extent), under his care, for the purpose of bringing his opinions and theories to the test of practice.

The immediate good effect in the Bristol district, induced the trustees of the Bath roads to ask Mr Macadam's advice how they were to proceed ; in consequence of which, their roads, (about 49 miles), were soon brought into good order. Their example rapidly spread throughout the south of England, and has since become general over the whole kingdom,

to which the strong recommendation of the committee in 1811 greatly contributed.

It has always been a rule with me, not to throw obstacles in the way of useful suggestions. People are not at all aware of the mischief they do, by raising objections to plans, merely because they are of a novel nature. Such plans ought never to be condemned or set aside, until they have had a fair trial. Indeed, persons who have acquired any influence in a country ought not only to encourage new plans, but to be ready of access to men of scientific and useful pursuits. From his knowledge of my readiness to receive men of merit, Mr Nicol of Pall-Mall addressed the following letter to me, in favour of Mr Macwilliam, whose object was to bring forward a discovery, by which the dry rot in timber might be prevented.

Pall-Mall, May 14. 1817.

SIR,

The bearer, Mr Macwilliam, is very anxious for an introduction to you. The readiness of access that you always afford to men of scientific pursuits, emboldens me to give him this note. I have inclosed a prospectus, which will inform you of his views better than I can do. I am, Sir, respectfully yours,  
WM. NICOL.

It is impossible to foresee when a new plan has once been suggested, to what extent it may be carried, and what improvements may be made in it. What astonishing events have resulted from improvements in the steam engine, which could never have been contemplated, or even guessed at, when that discovery was first submitted to public consideration !



10.—CHARLES FRASER FRIZELL, ESQ. OF HARCOURT STREET,  
DUBLIN.

One of the most extraordinary characters I ever met with was Mr Fraser Frizell, an Irish barrister. He was much devoted to inquiries regarding education, the state of the poor, and other useful objects; and came to London on purpose to procure such information as the metropolis could furnish, regarding them. He happened to call with a letter of introduction to me, just when I was going to sit down to an early dinner, preparatory to a long debate in the House of Commons, and he readily agreed to take a share of it. His conversation was so lively and pleasant, that I felt no wish to exchange it for a dull debate in the House of Commons. Among other things, he said, "We Irish meet with more singular adventures than any other race of men, and in proof of the assertion, I will tell you a story which I think will amuse you." In the course of our future correspondence, as will appear from the subjoined letters, I earnestly requested him to send me the story himself, or to procure it from Father O'Leary; but being unsuccessful in those applications, I shall endeavour to make it out the best way I can, from a distant recollection.

*The History of Darby O'Sullivan.*

Father O'Leary and Captain M'Carty were walking together through the streets of St Omers, when they came to a house, at the door of which a man was bawling, in the French language, "Walk in, Gentlemen, and see the greatest curiosity ever heard of, a Russian bear who can speak, and dance, and sing, and in every respect is as intelligent as a human being." Father O'Leary wished to walk on, but Captain M'Carty insisted on their going in to see so great a curiosity. Upon their entering the apartment where the exhibition was to be seen, they saw at the bottom of a long room, a great

cage, in which a huge bear was reposing. Upon their approaching the cage, the keeper, with a long stick, began to beat the animal, in order to rouse him. Upon his getting up he commenced speaking some gibberish, which the two visitors immediately knew to be Irish. The keeper then said in French, Come, Mr Bear, give these gentlemen a song; and, to their utter astonishment, he sung an Irish ditty. Father O'Leary immediately said in Irish, How come you to speak the Irish language? The astonishment of the bear, at hearing himself addressed in his native tongue, may easily be conceived. He said, "Gentlemen, my name is Darby O'Sullivan. I was born in the county of Kerry. When men were raised for the navy, I became a volunteer, and was put on board a ship of war. We sailed to the coast of Armoric, (Brittany), and a boat was sent ashore to procure some water and provisions. The people, where we landed, spoke a kind of Irish, and I thought I would be better off among them than on board a ship, where we were not very kindly treated. I ran therefore into the country, and came to a little town, where they were very kind to me. I found the cider better than the cider of Kerry, and took my fill of it. I then walked into the country, and I lay down to sleep, and when I awoke, I found myself transformed into a bear."

The keeper was not at all satisfied with what was going forward, and said to the company who had assembled, "Gentlemen, you must now be satisfied of the truth of what I asserted. This bear, in many respects, resembles a human being; but he is tired,—we must leave him to his repose." Upon which Captain M'Carty drew his sword, and seizing the man by the collar, he said, "You have been playing some tricks with a countryman of mine, which shall not go unpunished. Instantly open the door of the cage to let him out, otherwise this sword will be buried in your body." The keeper, much terrified, admitted that it was a man in a bear's skin, and gave the following account of the circumstance:

“ My partner and I were exhibiting, in a town in France, a real Russian bear, when he unfortunately became sick, and died. We had the skin taken off, and buried the body ; and then resolved to take a walk into the country, to consider what we could do to remedy our misfortune. A short way from the town, we observed a man, lying in a ditch, quite drunk. It accidentally occurred to us, that it would be possible to sew the bear’s skin over the man, in the state in which he then was, and to persuade him, when he became sober, that he had been converted into a bear, as a punishment for his drunkenness. We set about it without a moment’s delay ; and by means of blows, and shewing him his figure in a glass, we convinced him that the transformation had actually taken place. The man believes himself to be a bear. He is perfectly reconciled to his fate ; and to make him again a man, *would do him no good, and would ruin us.*”

Captain M‘Carty immediately replied, “ This must not be suffered. I will not permit a countryman of mine to be treated so inhumanly.” Scissars were immediately procured, the bear’s skin was taken off, and out came a great naked Irishman, who was much delighted with being restored to manhood. Clothes were immediately procured for him, and some money collected for his immediate subsistence ; but as he had no means of gaining a livelihood, he resolved to enlist in Captain M‘Carty’s regiment. It is said, that in the course of the French Revolution, he embraced the cause of liberty, and ultimately rose to a situation of some importance in the armies of the Republic.

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Such is the best account I can give of this curious circumstance, after the lapse of thirty years. It is a pity that Father O’Leary could not be prevailed upon to narrate it himself, as, in his hands, it would have been still more interesting.

The following letters from Mr Fraser Frizell proved the warmth of his heart, and his zeal for useful inquiries.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I am just arrived. I have had a dreadful fit of the gout, which deprived me of the use of my hands; and without *them, even an Irish bear* could not write. But, believe me, my heart feels all your kindness. I do not think I am a rascal, therefore imagine I am not, nor shall be, ungrateful. I have a clerk copying the papers at present, and will send them inclosed in a Secretary of State's frank to you or Mr Martin. As to the story of Darby O'Sullivan, you shall have it as well as I can give it. I was thirteen days travelling from London here, and had like to have expired several times with the gout in my stomach, and, as you may perceive, can scarcely write. This will plead my excuse, for this incoherent epistle. The state of this country is truly dreadful; nor have I been able, as yet, to give sufficient consideration to it, to inform you accurately as to its real state; and would not offer you any other information. But I still, and I believe ever shall, think, that different measures would most probably bring about a happy settlement. I shall have the pleasure, in a few days, to write to you. Here, and every where else, you may ever command me. Mrs F. Frizell and family return you many thanks for your kind compliments. And believe me to be, your most obliged humble servant,

C. FRASER FRIZELL.

Harcourt Street, Dublin,

13th April 1798.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

I send you the papers you were so good as to lend me to get copied, which I have done. They will be of the greatest use to the publication, of which I send you a copy. It is edited by a most particular and excellent friend of mine, the Rev. Dr Joseph Stopfor, a fellow of Dublin College, and has been a fellow-labourer of mine a long time. You may perceive what a distinguished rank you bear in this publication, which you must ever do in every publication which re-

lates to the real happiness of mankind, and yet you complain of the small good you have done at your age. Pray which of our generals or statesmen has done as much? I wish I could, with any prospect of my prayer succeeding, desire, as Don Langara did to Lord Hood, "*Viva mill'anno.*" I would rather have my name ranked with a Howard, a Hanway, a Rutherford, and, I must add, a Sinclair, than with a Buonaparte, a Pitt, or even a Gibbon. Do not think I flatter. I have nothing to desire of Sir John Sinclair, except what I flatter myself I possess, in a certain degree, to wit, his friendship. The state of this country is truly dreadful. Several thousand pikes, the iron work of which are, in general, three feet long. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was last night taken prisoner. He wounded desperately two of the gentlemen who went to arrest him, and was wounded himself in the arm. The whole county and city of Dublin are, by proclamation, declared out of the King's peace; and though I have no doubt that these measures might, in a great degree, have been rendered unnecessary, by proper conduct, about two years since, I am decidedly of opinion, that now the measures taken are absolutely requisite. Might I beg it as a favour, that any new or interesting papers on the subject of agriculture, or the bettering the situation of the lower orders, which you may get, you would have the goodness to communicate to me. I will, as soon as my health permits, which has been very indifferent, send to Mr Martin, for your use, every thing I can collect here on these subjects. Believe I am, my Dear Sir John, your most sincere and obliged servant,

C. FRASER FRIZELL.

Harcourt Street, Dublin,  
20th May 1798.

I will write to Father O'Leary to send you, in writing, the story of Darby O'Sullivan, which must come better from his pen, who was one of the *actores fabulæ*, than mine, who only had it from him.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

## 11.—COMMUNICATION FROM MR ADAM FLOWER,

With a singular Agricultural Anecdote.

At an early period after my appointment to the Presidency of the Board of Agriculture, I received a letter from a Mr Adam Flower, requesting to see me regarding an agricultural discovery of the greatest importance; and an hour was immediately fixed for seeing him. When he arrived, he began with stating, that draining, he understood, was one of the greatest improvements in agriculture; that from his situation, as one of the keepers of the warehouses of the East India Company for china-ware, he had discovered a mode of draining superior to any other; that his plan for that purpose was, to employ all *the broken china-ware* in the warehouse, which being a hard material would never decay, and, consequently, would answer the purpose better than any other article.

It was with a good deal of difficulty I found it possible to retain my gravity at such a proposal; but fortunately, Mr Flower was soon convinced, that all the broken ware that had ever belonged to the India Company, would go but a short way in draining a whole kingdom, and would hardly be sufficient for a single farm, or even a large field. He was, however, so much pleased with the reception he had met with, that he sent me, next day, the following letter:

Adam Flower, the person who troubled you twice with a sample of broken china for drains, presents his respects to Sir John Sinclair; and, by way of amends, offers him, or his friend, a vote for the county of Kent, or of Middlesex.

Monday Morning, 23d May 1796.

At No. 24. White Horse Lane, White-Chapel.

This proves the advantage that may be derived from treating all persons with civility and attention.

## 12.—SINGULAR INSTANCE OF DEATHBED REPENTANCE.

I had conferred several favours on an officer in my regiment of Fencibles, which he had repaid with ingratitude. I had forgotten every circumstance regarding it, when, very unexpectedly, I received the following letter from him :

Montrose, 6th May 1810.

SIR,

This I write from the bed of death, hoping that you will commiserate my fate.

By sickness and age I have lost all the faculties both of mind and body, particularly my mind.

Such a change I can bear with fortitude ; but I wish to acknowledge my great error, in writing to you in a disrespectful manner, and also to many gentlemen high in office, by which I lost their friendship. Indeed, on looking back, it looks like a sort of frenzy, for which I cannot account ; and I am ever weeping and mourning over it, with regret and contrition.

As I am fast approaching to my latter end, I wish to be reconciled to all men, and to end my days in peace.

From these imperfect hints, you will easily see what I wish.

Grant my humble petition, and eternal happiness be your reward. I am, Sir, your penitent humble servant.

*N. B.* Please to do me the favour to acknowledge the receipt of this.

This letter was received in London ; and no time was lost in sending the following answer :

SIR,

I have received yours of the 6th current, informing me of

the state of your health, and expressing your regret at your conduct towards me, every circumstance regarding which has been long ago buried in oblivion; and, at any rate, I am always ready and willing to forgive injuries of a much more deadly nature, than any I could have received from you.

Hoping that you will terminate your earthly career with comfort, (to which it will give me much pleasure to contribute), as well as with repentance; and that you will not be disappointed in the hopes of happiness in a future state, which I trust you have still grounds to entertain, I remain, Sir, your well-wisher and very obedient servant,

JOHN SINCLAIR.

London, 10th May 1810.

### 13.—JOHN PINKERTON, ESQ.

The celebrated Antiquary, respecting the Highland Dress.

The form of the Highland dress had long been a subject much disputed; some contending that either the belted plaid, or the philibeg, (a short petticoat), was the proper national garb; whilst others maintained, that the trews or trowsers was the proper dress of the natives of the Highlands. Aware that Mr Pinkerton, so much distinguished for his ability as an historian, and skill in antiquarian researches, would probably know much of this matter, I applied to him upon the subject, and received, with a polite note, the following important information:

Mr Pinkerton, with his best respects, incloses such notices on the Highland dress as arise to him. Perhaps some things in the former letter may be omitted; but he has here added some new circumstances.

He will do himself the honour of waiting on Sir John Sinclair, on Sunday at ten, as appointed, when he can explain any point that may require it.

Hampstead, 15th April 1796.



*Highland Dress.*

Lord Hailes, *Annals*, vol. i. p. 37, thinks tartan may be as old as the time of Malcolm III, as Turgot mentions that clothes of different colours, (*diversis coloribus*), were then introduced. But the passage implies, that the Scots had before worn only black, like the Norwegians, or clothes undyed.

Fordun, vol. i. p. 44, says the Highland dress was very rude, “*amictu deformis*.” He alludes not to the modern dress, resembling that used in his time, even by the English peasants, but to the skins of sheep, &c. in which they were wildly and uncouthly garbed.

John Major, A. D. 1521, describing the dress of the Highlanders, mentions that they wore half-boots, and large shirts stained with saffron, (the Irish dress, see Spencer’s *View of Ireland*); their only other article being a *chlamys* or plaid. P. 34.

Hector Boece, A. D. 1527, says, f. v. 18, that they wore woollen or linen stockings reaching to the knee; *femoralia*, breeches of canvas or coarse linen, and plaids or mantles; for the Latin of these writers is often affected and indistinct.

In 1562, the Highland chief is clothed in the Irish fashion, a mantle, not a plaid; *braccæ*, or close pantaloons of linen, &c. while the Highland woman is arrayed in sheepskins. See the Prints in my *Scarce Scottish Poems*, reprinted, 3 vols.

Buchanan (1582) is the first who mentions the present Highland dress and tartan. The latter certainly passed from Flanders, with other imports, to Scotland. The name may perhaps be Flemish, or from the French, as *ter-teint*, dyed thrice, or of three colours; so *bis-cuit*, bread twice baked.

Giraldus Cambrensis, A. D. 1080, gives a minute description of the Irish dress, and specifies the *braccæ*, or pantaloons, as universally worn.

Of so little antiquity is the Highland dress, that, in 1715, the Highlanders from remote parts only wore *one* article, a

long loose coat, or polonian, laced down to the knees. See *Scarce Scottish Poems*, vol. i. p. xli.

The *philibeg* is of French and English extract, and seems unknown in the Highlands till about 1550. The yeomen of the guard preserve the fashion that gave rise to it, and which appeared in France and England about A. D. 1550; but pantaloons or breeches were always worn under it.

The Roman military habit was very remote, the seeming philibeg being only the skirts of the tunic, worn under the armour, and the Romans wore *femoralia*, or close linen drawers under. The Saxon and English peasants for a long time wore only a *tunic*, girded round the middle, their legs and feet quite naked. The skirts of this tunic resemble a philibeg; but the latter is the *petticoat* worn by Henry VIII., and mentioned in his wardrobe, (see Strutt), and which in France and England succeeded the indecent cod-piece, the tightness of the pantaloons rendering a further disguise absolutely necessary.

Fortescue, "On the Difference between an Absolute and Limited Monarchy," written about 1450, describes the misery of France. He says the peasants wore a poor *coat* of woollen under their canvas *frock*, (like a waggoner's), and their stockings only reach the knee, "and their thighs bare." This is the old Saxon *tunic* above mentioned, the skirts of which were the only covering for the thighs.

But the *philibeg* is the *petticoat* of the English, the *jupon* of Francis I. of France, which about A. D. 1500 succeeded the cod-piece, and was followed by the *haut de chausses*, or breeches.

The indecent and beggarly appearance of the philibeg need not be pointed out. It has no claim to antiquity, as above shewn, while the *braccæ*, or pantaloons, are known to all antiquity, and gave rise to the name of *Gallia Braccata*, in contradistinction to the Cisalpine Gauls, who wore the flowing Italian dress.

## 14.—HENRY BROUGHAM, ESQ. M. P.

This distinguished lawyer is certainly one of the most eminent characters that modern times has produced, and he was always ready, not only to produce able plans of his own, but to assist those which had been proposed by others. I had sent him a paper on education for his remarks, which he returned with the following letter :

MY DEAR SIR,

I inclose a few notes upon the education portion of your digest.

I have not returned the printed sheets, being very desirous of keeping them for my own use, as they contain much valuable matter, and many references. But I shall send them, if you have any objection to my retaining them. You may rely on their never getting out of my hands. Believe me, most truly, yours,

H. BROUGHAM.

Hill Street, Berkeley Square,

Nov. 7. 1824.

I was much gratified with this friendly mark of his attention, and in thanking him was led to say, “ That a few hints from a person of observation and talent, are worth much more than a volume from a mere plodder ; in the same manner as a small diamond, is intrinsically more valuable, than a large lump of glass or crystal.”

## 15.—LETTER FROM SIR WILLIAM JONES,

Respecting the Fine Wool, or Soft Hair to be found in Asia.

Crishna-nagur, Oct. 15. 1791 •.

SIR,

You may rely upon my best endeavours to procure information concerning the Asiatic wool, or soft hair, and the animals that carry it. I had the pleasure of circulating your very interesting tracts at Calcutta, and of exhibiting the specimens of very beautiful wool with which you favoured me. My own time, however, is engaged from morning to night in discharging my public duties, and in arranging the new digest of Indian laws. I must, therefore, depend chiefly on others in procuring the information you are desirous of obtaining. Mr Bebb of the Board of Trade, and Colonel Kyd, who superintends the Company's Garden, have promised to assist me. The wool of these provinces is too coarse to be of use; but that of Kerman in Persia, which you know by the name of *Carmanian* wool, is reckoned exquisitely fine, and you might, I suppose, procure the sheep from Bombay. The shawl goats would live, I imagine, and breed, in England; but it is no less difficult to procure the females from Cashmir, than to procure mares from Arabia.

The attention of this distinguished character, to an inquiry so little connected with his usual pursuits, proves his ardent zeal for national improvement.

## 16.—EDWARD GIBBON, ESQ. THE HISTORIAN.

I had the pleasure of being acquainted with this great his-

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• See the Life, Writings and Correspondence of Sir William Jones, published by Lord Teignmouth, an. 1807, vol. ii. p. 208.

torian, both as a member of the House of Commons, and as a friend of Lord Sheffield's, where we occasionally met. I still distinctly recollect his ungainly figure, seated on the upper ministerial benches, where he regularly attended, from day to day, to give a steady, but silent vote, in favour of his friend, Lord North. We were much disappointed, that so able a writer was not qualified to make a figure in oratory. In private life, no man could be more interesting or amusing.

Having drawn up a work, entitled, "*Thoughts on the Scottish Dialect*," I was naturally anxious to obtain the opinion of so great a judge of language, on that publication, and requested the favour of his company to dinner, that we might talk it over. I was disappointed in the pleasure of seeing him, from his having gone to Brighthelmston. The note he returned, is of importance only, from its connexion with the name of so distinguished an author.

Mr Gibbon presents his compliments to Mr Sinclair, and is very sorry that a previous engagement for next Monday deprives him of the honour of waiting on Mr Sinclair. The observations, which Mr Gibbon has returned, appear to him, (as far as he can judge from a detached sheet), very accurate in themselves; and will probably be useful to Scotch writers. At present Mr Gibbon's time is, indeed, very much engrossed by different avocations.

Brighthelmston, Saturday Morning, 1782.

#### 17.—THE EARL OF KELLIE.

In the course of my excursion to the northern countries of Europe, I had met with Thomas, Earl of Kellie, (who had not then succeeded to that title), and his Lady, who recollected having seen me many years before when I was quite a boy. He was British Consul at Gottenburgh, and was extremely popular in that town and neighbourhood. When

he became Earl of Kellie, he settled in Fife, and he took much pleasure in promoting the improvement of that county, of which he was appointed Lord Lieutenant. As he frequently alluded to my old acquaintance with Lady Kellie, I requested to know the particulars, which he communicated in a letter, dated Cambo House, 11th November 1824.

“ Lady Kellie recollects most perfectly, that about the year 1759, it was customary for the Magistrates of Edinburgh publicly to examine the reading schools there, in St Mary’s Chapel, at the foot of Niddry’s Wynd. Each of the scholars repeated a portion in prose or poetry, according to his taste and abilities. The present Sir John Sinclair was then very young, (about six years of age), and acquitted himself uncommonly well. The theme he chose was, an address to the Roman Senate, by Adherbal, Prince of Numidia, after his brother’s death, and the other misfortunes which he had experienced. The young orator stood on a part of the orchestra, a little raised above the hearers. He commenced with great firmness, “ *Most illustrious Senators,*” &c. ; one hand waving gracefully, the other on his breast, with an expression of countenance that gave great satisfaction. There was a profound silence till the speech was concluded. The applause which then ensued was most gratifying, and a decided opinion was pronounced, ‘ That the young orator would in time become a great man.’ ”

This was Lady Kellie’s account of an anecdote which she had great pleasure in recounting, and recollected perfectly about sixty-five years after it had happened.

18.—JOHN HATSELL, ESQ. CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

I never met with any one possessed of a clearer head, or sounder understanding, than Mr Hatsell, who for a great

number of years was Clerk of the House of Commons, and who, on all questions of difficulty, was enabled, from his knowledge of the forms of the House, and great experience in Parliament, to solve any doubt that might have arisen. He displayed a great deal of public spirit, and disinterestedness in a very trying situation. If a general bill of inclosure had passed the House of Lords, as it did the House of Commons, his income would have been materially diminished. I thought it proper, therefore, to mention to him, that if the bill passed, it was my intention that he should be indemnified for the loss. But this he positively disclaimed, stating, that if, for the public advantage, any alteration was made in the mode of passing bills, he did not see any right, that any of the officers of the Houses of Lords or Commons, had to be indemnified, for any loss which such change or regulation might occasion.

Mr Hatsell, as appears from the following letter, approved much of my quitting Parliament, having witnessed so many instances of persons having injured their health, by persevering in political pursuits longer than they ought to have done.

Morden Park, Tuesday, 3d Dec. 1811.

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry that I can give you no more satisfactory answer to your questions, respecting the rules for passing *public* and *private* bills, than what are to be collected from the printed orders of the House of Commons, respecting the *latter* ; and with regard to the *former*, from attending to the practice of what passes in the House on that subject ; and from the votes, which are printed every day ; and from the study of the journals. These are the sources, (the only ones), from whence any knowledge can be derived on these subjects ; and I should suppose, that *you* (an experienced Member of Parliament, and who have been concerned in passing so many public acts), are fully competent to instruct your son on this head. I approve of the wisdom of any man, that retires from the fatigue and business of the House of Commons, at a certain period

of life, and have only to hope, that your son will tread in his father's steps. I have the honour to be, Dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

J. HATSELL.

19.—MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID STEWART OF GARTH, GOVERNOR  
OF ST LUCIA.

There never was a braver soldier, nor a worthier man, than Major-General Stewart of Garth; and the work he published, entitled, “Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland,” proves that he was possessed of literary, as well as military talents.

As he had commenced very considerable improvements on his estates in the Highlands of Scotland, his friends felt an anxious wish, that he should continue to benefit his native country by his abilities and example. It was with great regret therefore, that they heard of his being appointed Governor of St Lucia; but they hoped, that from the natural strength of his constitution\*, he would be able to surmount the dangers of a West India climate. They were sure, at any rate, wherever he went, that he would make every exertion to do all the good that his situation admitted of. On the 11th of February 1830, I received a large packet from him, with very satisfactory information of his proceedings as Governor of St Lucia; and, on the whole, rather a favourable account of his health. I was preparing to answer so valuable a communication, when, on the 15th of the same month, information reached Edinburgh of the death of this excellent man. I think it proper, therefore, to have extracts of the most interesting parts of that letter published, as it fur-

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\* It appears that he trusted too much to the natural strength of his constitution, and took such powerful doses of medicine, contrary to the advice of his physicians, to get rid of a fever rapidly, as must have injured it materially, and prevented him from being able to withstand a second attack. He died on the 18th December 1829.



nishes the best eulogium on his character and merits, and as I trust that it may induce his successor, whoever he may be, to persevere in those plans for the advantage of that valuable colony, which he had commenced, and which, with his ardour, ability and perseverance, he would, had he been spared, most probably have completed.

As the letter is rather longer than is usual in this collection, I propose inserting it in the Appendix, where it will be printed more closely, and in a smaller type; but the interesting information it contains, regarding the state of our West Indian Islands, cannot be too generally known by those who are materially concerned in the prosperity of those valuable possessions.

20.—SIR GEORGE O. PAUL, BART.

I do not know any individual, who gave me a better idea of a respectable English country gentleman, than the late Sir George O. Paul. He was an active magistrate, attentive to the police of the district where he resided, and anxious, by every means in his power, to promote its prosperity. In a communication to me, dated Queen Street, Mayfair, June 24. 1794, he gives the following description of his pursuits :

MY DEAR SIR,

When I had last the pleasure of seeing you, I engaged to distribute Mr Turner's account of Gloucestershire through the county.

I have since read the account. Without making any comment on the agricultural parts, *which I do not understand*, I observe his statements relative to the manufacturers are mistaken and unguarded. The principle of his general observations relative to the poor are so diametrically opposite to every thing I have ever said or done in my life, that I cannot so far appear to countenance them, as to be the means of their circulation.

*I enter no farther into public matters, than as an employment of my time, which I am free to pursue or to decline, as inclination leads me. To be amusing to me, it is necessary that every purpose I engage in, should be consonant to certain general opinions which my mind has adopted as first principles. With that gratification, which arises from promoting my own sentiments, I am perfectly satisfied. It is my wish to avoid controversy, and dispute with other persons, who are perhaps equally anxious, and equally acting on conviction. I am, very sincerely, yours,*

G. O. PAUL.

21.—JOHN WILKINSON, ESQ. OF BRADLEY, NEAR  
WOLVERHAMPTON.

I had much intercourse with Mr Wilkinson regarding his iron manufacture, which he carried on to a great extent, and also regarding his improvements in mossy lands, which were of a superior description. I went to his estate at Castlehead, in Lancashire, on purpose to examine them; and drew up an account of them, of which, from the following letter, dated Bradley, 25th of April 1805, he seems highly to have approved:

“ I am favoured with your letter of the 22d, and your report on my moss ground at Castlehead. It is perfectly correct; and I have not any alterations or additions to suggest, as I do not know any point you have omitted. It will give me great pleasure to find, that your publication of it infuses a spirit for the improvement of moss land into any of our great landed proprietors.”

When I visited Mr Wilkinson, at Bradley, in 1805, he complained to me that he could hardly carry on his business for want of small coin, the issue of silver *tokens* having recently been prohibited by act of Parliament, and silver *coin*

being very scarce. I immediately undertook to point out a mode of supplying the want. For this purpose, I recommended Mr Wilkinson to issue "*iron tokens*," promising to deliver a certain quantity of iron, according to the sums required. In a letter, dated 25th April 1805, he states, "*I will certainly put your hint into practice, respecting the iron tokens.*" And in a subsequent letter, in September 1805, he says, "*The tokens for iron of 5s., 7s. 6d. and 10s. answer every purpose of silver, and are a very great convenience at Bradley.* I have had a thousand of each of them struck off, which are all in circulation." The total amount of this new species of currency came to £. 1125; and if a scarcity of small coin were again to take place, such tokens would be a great accommodation in many parts of the kingdom, more especially in the manufacturing districts. Such a plan would be infinitely superior to the *truck system*, or that of paying wages in goods, by which the unfortunate receiver is liable to be seriously imposed upon. Indeed, the same plan might be improved upon, so as to answer as a substitute for small notes, the want of which is severely felt in many parts of the kingdom. Instead of iron, the obligation might be, to deliver to the bearer, a certain quantity of grain, or cloth, or any other article of known value in the neighbourhood.

## 22.—JEREMY BENTHAM, ESQ.

In the department of law, the literary labours of Jeremy Bentham, have been more celebrated, than those of perhaps any modern lawyer. I respected his abilities much, but was always apprehensive that his ideas were too speculative to be practically useful. We did not require a new system of laws, but corrections of the old ones; and the alterations not to be rashly made, but gradually, and with due regard to the feelings and prejudices of the people.

The subjoined letter relates to an application from me to Mr Bentham, that he would undertake to prepare a paper on the poor laws, a subject which seems to baffle every attempt that has hitherto been made, to place them on an advantageous footing, so as to relieve the unfortunate, without oppressing the industrious. The only means of preventing poverty is to furnish employment, and that can only be secured by high prices, and abundant circulation.

Queen's Square Place, 13 July 1797.

DEAR SIR,

Your commands in relation to the *poor* will be fulfilled : to speak the truth, they have been anticipated. I have been thinking of nothing else but poverty for these seven or eight months. *Pauper sum—paupertatis nihil a me alienum puto.* That which for inducement was not necessary, may, in the way of encouragement, be useful : and, in the way of encouragement, what can be more stimulative, than flattery from Sir John Sinclair ?

My labours, taking them altogether, will, I doubt, be too voluminous to look for the honour of a complete admission into the *Fasti* of the Board ; but extracts can be made, adapted to the questions by which your commands to me on that subject are conveyed. Believe me ever, with all respect,  
Dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

JEREMY BENTHAM.

Sir John Sinclair, &c.

### 23.—DR WILLIAM CULLEN.

This celebrated physician was the medical friend of the family, when we resided in Edinburgh ; and it will appear, from the subjoined letter, on what cordial terms we corresponded. I had applied to him for a letter of recommendation, in favour of a student of medicine who had attended his

class, and he assigns very satisfactory reasons for declining to comply with my request, with the nature or existence of which objections, I had not been previously acquainted.

MY DEAR SIR,

There is nothing I am more desirous of than of any opportunity of showing my respect and regard for you, and I am extremely sorry, that upon the present occasion, I cannot gratify you and myself in the manner I would wish. The particular regard I owe to the Earl of Warwick, must always prevent me from recommending any body to his protection, whom I cannot from my own knowledge recommend. This, however, I cannot do with respect to ————. Although he was my pupil, he never took any pains to cultivate my acquaintance; and he knows very well, that his conduct in the study of physic was such as entirely estranged him from me. I could explain this to you, but it is not necessary, as he himself must recollect even his neglect of me, and this I hope will excuse me with you for my not writing to Lord Warwick as you desire. Be assured, that there is not any body will ever be more desirous of complying with your requests than, Dear Sir John, your most respectful and most humble servant,

WILLIAM CULLEN.

Edinburgh, 9th March 1789.

#### 24.—DR JAMES GREGORY.

There was no modern physician more justly celebrated for ability in lecturing on medical subjects, or skill in practice, than Dr James Gregory of Edinburgh. We had corresponded on a most important subject, that of establishing uniform bills of mortality in all the parishes of Scotland. As soon as the plan was arranged by the College of Physicians, it was sent to me, to be transmitted to the clergy. I regret to add,

that without legislative authority, I found it would be impossible to get the measure carried through to any extent, and it was therefore given up. The truth is, that with so many foreign appendages, the internal regulation of the mother-country cannot be properly attended to.

Edinburgh, 20th February 1792.

SIR,

The Royal College of Physicians have directed me, their Secretary, to return you their most hearty thanks for having so kindly taken the trouble, to transmit to the clergy of Scotland, the plan for bills of mortality proposed and recommended by the College. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. GREGORY.

25.—MR RICHARD BOWES.

It is well known, that without the assistance of French burr stones, it was supposed, that we would not grind our wheat in perfection. By accident I learnt, that Wales could probably supply this material; and I prevailed on Mr Richard Bowes, an intelligent and public-spirited person, to undertake the task of ascertaining how far it was practicable to procure at home so essential an article.

Mr Bowes unfortunately died soon after he had made the discovery, and the plan was given up. I think it right, however, to preserve, and to publish the following communication from him, as it may induce some other patriotic and active individual to take up the subject with equal spirit, and with more success.

Conway, North Wales, 5th November 1798.

SIR,

After an absence of five weeks, I had your obliging letter from Edinburgh; but, from an increasing demand for the burr

stone, fear I shall not be able to reach London before early in December.

In regard to quantity, I have little doubt but there is a sufficient supply; for this reason, that in tracing a chain of several miles in length, through the body of a mountain, I have not been any where disappointed in that level.

It is equally excellent in small pieces as large, and of the same quality in the quarry as detached pieces; but the whole quarry will not come into use. All my experiments were to make.

As to Liverpool demand, it is equally strong, and has become a matter of contest who shall be principal vendor, without inquiring what may be the price. Dublin is equally anxious, and I send a large cargo thither without delay. You will perceive, Sir John, the supply cannot be very narrow, when I speak of sending cargoes; and I have settled to draw £.10 *per* ton, leaving the price floating, until better considered on all sides. The quality has been submitted to your inspection; however, the best proof of that is the demand; and no doubt they possess the *true* properties of burr stones.

Mr Lloyd has favoured me with a visit here, and highly approves of it. Would have had a pair working before now; but from the stupidity of hands through which they were to pass. I am exceedingly chagrined about it, and shall do every thing to remedy the mistake.

Mr Sneyd, Sir, (to whom I write this day), has acted totally independent of personal considerations, farther than as a member of the community, wishing to promote the *useful*. Indeed, no words I am capable to express, are sufficient to give an idea of the manner in which he has behaved to me, (a total stranger), upon this occasion; and, from doing me a kindness, has taken such a general interest in my concerns, as is to be met with only in a mind fraught with social love.

On the subject of a stone company, you have already my full and decisive opinion, from Honlowe, Essex. I feel now

exactly as at that time, that without the extinction of one shilling capital, it would employ thousands.

You will please to recollect how anxiously I offered my services, either to the Board, a company, or yourself, and shall still gladly embrace whatever may tend to such an undertaking. To return to the burr.

The stone appears within half a mile of a shipping place,—is situate near the top of a mountain, from whence, with little interruption, it rolls down to the plain,—from thence carted to the quay,—and, with all the expenses of a new undertaking, I find it still will pay very well.

I meant to have had a certificate from Liverpool, signed by some public characters, in addition to the millers. The money, at this moment, from the Board, would be useful. I, however, by no means depend upon it, yet would be thankful for its use.

Permit me farther to observe, that although *poor*, I am by no means *necessitous*.

Whatever use this may prove, to you, Sir John, the public owe it, as, of all others, it was then a subject upon which I was least conversant. There is still much to be done through the kingdom, particularly in the north. I can find several who will join and subscribe to any such plan. I urge it, not from selfish motives, unless it is that my individual labours may be generally useful, and carry comfort to the fireside of the workman, improving, in the same time, my own fortune.

Under impressions of most grateful respect, I am, Sir, your most obliged and obedient servant,

RICHARD BOWES.

#### 26.—SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART. M. P.

The respect and affection which I felt for the late Sir Robert Peel, and the unity of sentiment which subsisted between us, on the various questions connected with commerce and finance,



made me derive, at all times, the highest pleasure from his correspondence; and there are few friends whose loss I more feelingly lament. Sir Robert was a real patriot, and a man of sound judgment, and firm integrity.

The following letter relates to a plan which I had suggested, for the appointment of a commission to investigate the currency question, which has never yet been thoroughly discussed. A hurried inquiry, through the medium of a parliamentary committee, is more likely to do harm than good, from the defective information it produces. Why should not a regular report be drawn up on the subject of *paper circulation*, by the Board of Trade, in the same manner as the First Lord Liverpool drew up, for the consideration of his Majesty's Government, his report *on coin*? The object to be desired is, a full and profound investigation, by which all the doubts and difficulties in which the question is at present involved would be removed; and in the course of which, several particulars, which have not hitherto been touched upon in any of the reports, would be explained \*.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,

Your esteemed favour of the 8th instant was delayed, by its being sent to Market Drayton. I very much fear, you have not been able to incline our Government to take the same view of our currency as yourself. My reason for addressing men in power, arose from a persuasion, that the subject had not been duly examined. I considered our distress, not to arise from over-trading and wild speculation, but from a want of confidence, *generated by the existence of unsound paper money*. To found any proceeding on the impression made on the minds of the cabinet, might plunge the country into increased embarrassment. The effort made by Scotland, to adhere to a tried and successful currency, does you much credit; and if any attempt could be made, to make well better,

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\* They are stated in p. 318, of this work.

which is not likely, it would not redound to the credit of our rulers. We may, by communicating our sentiments, have some of our suggestions adopted ; but I fear no set of men would be commissioned, to adapt a circulating medium to our circumstances. I am, Dear Sir John, your faithful and obedient servant,

ROBERT PEEL.

Drayton Manor, 27th April 1826.

The approbation which Sir Robert bestows, on the manly stand made by the Scotch, in defence of their currency, ought never to be overlooked ; for on its preservation depends the prosperity of the country.

#### 27.—ON THE THAMES TUNNEL.

I have always been partial to new experiments, as it is impossible to say, to what extent they are susceptible of improvement. I therefore gave every support in my power to the completion of the Tunnel under the Thames, for which I received the thanks of the Directors ; but my great reason for taking an interest in the plan, arose out of the following circumstances :

Several years ago, (as I have already had occasion to mention, p. 433), I travelled from London to Paris, in company with Messieurs *Montgolfier*, *Argand*, and *Reveillon*, three of the most ingenious men on the Continent. Montgolfier and Reveillon had come to London, to give evidence in a law-suit regarding Argand's lamps. I was very glad to have the company of three such celebrated men in my journey to Paris, in the course of which a great number of important subjects were talked over. When we arrived at Dover, we naturally discussed the various modes of crossing the Channel between the two kingdoms. We first took into consideration what might be said for or against crossing in the common packet, steam

boats not being then invented. We next discussed the possibility of having a bridge of boats thrown across the Channel. Montgolfier said, that it was perfectly practicable, and calculated that it could be done, with vessels made of oak, for about L.2,000,000 Sterling; but the impediments it would occasion to navigation, offered an unsurmountable objection to the plan. We then discussed the practicability of crossing in a balloon, which Montgolfier said might be done occasionally, but never could become a general practice. Reveillon then exclaimed, What, is there no other plan we can think of? on which I happened to remark, “*What do you think of a Tunnel?*”

We were all much amused with this new suggestion, and discussed its practicability. The great difficulty evidently was the conveying of fresh air through a space of such extent. Some suggested pipes, with apertures at different distances. Others proposed carrying to the interior bags filled with fresh air, to be let out in the centre. Some thought that the air might be so condensed as to have an immense quantity in a small space. On the whole, the plan of so large a tunnel as from Dover to Calais, was negatived.

Ever since this discussion, however, I have always been partial to all attempts favourable to the tunnel system, and most anxious, in particular, for the success of the Thames Tunnel, which now requires nothing but a sufficiency of funds to carry it through, and which, I hope, by perseverance and exertion, may still be accomplished.

#### CONCLUSION.

I shall close my “*Domestic Correspondence*” with the following short remark :

Epistolary collections may have formerly been published, surpassing this volume in elegance of language, and other particulars of lesser importance; but for variety of style,—diversity of information,—and the number of distinguished per-

sons whose contributions it contains, this collection has not hitherto been surpassed, and will not probably be often equalled.

I shall next proceed to arrange my "*Foreign Correspondence*," which I shall endeavour to render interesting to the English reader, by descriptions of the countries I have visited,—accounts of the characters of those with whom I corresponded,—and translations of the various communications they transmitted to me.

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## APPENDIX.

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# APPENDIX.

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## No. I.

CONGRATULATIONS ON SIR JOHN SINCLAIR'S APPOINTMENT TO BE A MEMBER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL, EXPLANATORY OF THE FEELINGS OF THE PUBLIC UPON THAT OCCASION.

1.—*Extract of a Letter from Davies Gilbert, Esq. M. P. afterwards President of the Royal Society, dated 3d September 1810.*

“ In consequence of what has appeared in the papers, I write, not so much for the purpose of congratulating yourself, as of offering my congratulations to the public, on the occasion of a signal and appropriate honour being conferred on an individual, who has so long, so diligently, so successfully, and so usefully employed himself in the promotion of science, the diffusion of knowledge, and the service of mankind, as well as of his own particular country.”

2.—*Extract of a Letter from George Dempster, Esq. of Dunnichen, near Forfar, in North Britain, dated 15th September 1810.*

“ I have received yours, with the interesting particulars of your admission as a Privy Councillor. It is one of the fairest feathers royalty has to bestow. It costs the Crown nothing. It confers on the subject pure refined honour, unalloyed with any metallic dross. On this occasion, it is a pure mirror, and reflects back to the donor almost every ray that has fallen upon it. I do not know how the plough will bear being raised from its clods to the skies.”

3.—*Extract of a Letter from William Innes, Esq. of Sandside.*

“ I received your kind note of intimation, and I congratulate you on his Majesty's mark of favour. I think there can be but little doubt of its being the forerunner of something more.”

4.—*Extract of a Letter from Robert Brown, Esq. of Markle, in East Lothian.*

“ Permit me to offer my congratulations on having taken your seat at the Council Board, and to express my earnest wishes, that all his Majesty's councillors were animated with the like desire to pro-



mote the real welfare of the country, as, to my certain knowledge, has constantly regulated your public conduct."

5.—*Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Mr Mackay, Minister of Reay, in Caithness, dated Reay, September 18. 1810.*

"I can truly say, that few can feel more joy at this dignified mark of royal approbation than I do. You will have the kindness to forgive the freedom of indulging myself in the pleasure of congratulating you on the present occasion. I flatter myself that this step is a prelude to a more substantial and lasting one."

6.—*Extract of a Letter from Dr Adam Smith.*

"I heartily congratulate you upon your late acquisition of title; and hope I may still live to see you arrive at still higher honours."

7.—*Extract of a Letter from William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. dated Battel, October 2. 1810.*

"It gave me real pleasure to hear that you were made a Privy Councillor. It is an honour which you have earned most honourably, by services, not to any party, but to your country."

8.—*Extract of a Letter from the Duke of Northumberland, dated Alnwick Castle, 19th September 1810.*

"Permit me to take this opportunity of congratulating you on the additional honour his Majesty has been pleased to confer on you, by calling you to a seat in the Privy Council, and to assure you of the satisfaction with which I heard of that event."

9.—*Extract of a Letter from Arthur Young, Esq.*

"Your elevation to a seat in the Privy Council must be highly gratifying to all your agricultural friends; and I never think of the number and extent of your pursuits, and the extraordinary vigour with which you push them, but I am disposed to wish, that the greatest offices of the state were conducted with the same energy and exertion."

10.—*Extract of a Letter from Sir Humphry Davy, Bart. dated September 9. 1810.*

"I congratulate you very sincerely on your being elected of the Privy Council. It would be a glorious circumstance for our age, if this were to be the prelude to an uniform patronage of the public objects of science and useful art, on which the glory and prosperity of the country must ultimately depend."

## No. II.

NARRATIVE OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON, AND GEORGE SINCLAIR, ESQUIRE, ELDEST SON OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, BART. (THEN IN THE 16TH YEAR OF HIS AGE); TOGETHER WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE PARTICULARS WHICH TOOK PLACE AT THAT INTERVIEW. *October 1806.*

CIRCUMSTANCES of a private, but urgent nature, induced me to undertake a journey from Gotha to Leipsic, in the beginning of October 1806. I prevailed upon my friend Mr Regel, one of the clergymen of the former place, to accompany me. Our passport being signed by the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, whose division of the troops was then at Gotha, we set out, notwithstanding the recent declaration of war; and, in despite of some difficulties, which it is unnecessary to specify, passed through Erfurt and Weimar, and arrived at Jena, where, at that time, the Prince of Hohenlohe had established his head-quarters. All the horses, in that neighbourhood had been put in requisition for the use of the Army; but, after some delay, we obtained, as a great favour, a pair, which conveyed us as far as Schön Gleina, an estate belonging to my friend, the then reigning Duke of Saxe-Gotha. Here we found a Saxon detachment quartered, and were disappointed in our expectation of procuring horses to advance us on our journey. We were, however, hospitably entertained by the Duke's steward, and passed the night there.

On the following morning, we heard a cannonade at some distance; and the steward rode to a neighbouring village, with a view of ascertaining the cause. He brought us word, that the Prussians were reported to have received a check, and that the French were expected to advance. Our anxiety to avoid falling into their hands induced us to adopt the determination of proceeding on foot. We therefore left our carriage, and part of the baggage, under the care of the steward, and hired a peasant, who undertook to convey the remainder of it on a wheelbarrow. We slept that night at a village, and proceeded next morning with a similar companion and conveyance.

At Köstritz, where we breakfasted, we were strongly urged not to proceed, as the French were rapidly advancing in the direction which we proposed to take. Regardless, however, of this advice, we pro-

ceeded on the road which led to Leipsic ; but had not gone very far, when, upon ascending an eminence, we perceived, at no great distance, a number of baggage-waggons, from which the horses had been unharnessed. They were surrounded by soldiers, who seemed to be investigating their contents, while some of the party remained near them on horseback. It was now too late to think of retreating, as they had of course perceived us, and could have overtaken us in a very few minutes. We therefore advanced boldly towards them, and soon found, when we arrived within hearing, that they were French soldiers, as we distinctly heard a number of their characteristic oaths and other expletives.

One of them (a *chasseur*) addressed us in broken German, and asked for our passport, which we produced, adding, that, as we were on neutral territory, we hoped he would permit us to proceed on our journey. This he declared to be impossible ; and desired us to step into an adjoining field, where we might speak to the commanding officer : he, at the same time, directed one of his comrades to escort us, enjoining him strictly to protect our baggage from spoliation. The officer received us rather roughly ; and when we said, that we were anxious to reach Leipsic on account of the fair, declared, that this must be false, and that he thought we had very different objects in view ; but that, at all events, he must send us to Gera, to be examined by the Grand Duke, (meaning Murat).

We accordingly returned to the high road, and proceeded slowly towards Gera. The whole scene was to me equally novel and interesting. We passed along the line of the captured baggage-waggons, which the French were busily occupied in plundering ; some of them appropriated to themselves officers' great coats ; others, after kicking away their old boots, drew on a pair of new ones. A number of the country people had been attracted to the spot to see what was going on ; and were, in some instances, permitted by the soldiers to share in the spoil. I heard one of them say, (though probably understood only by myself,) “ *Allons, mes enfans, prenez tout ce que vous voudrez ; laissez-nous seulement l'argent et le vin \**.” The ground was strewn with papers of the most miscellaneous kind : letters, account-books, pamphlets, &c. were lying promiscuously in the mud. On one side of the road, but at some distance from it, a number of troops were picturesquely drawn up, some of whom appeared to be in quest of hares, or any other game, which might be discovered in the fields. We also met a great number of soldiers advancing, though

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\* Come, my friends, choose what you like, only leave us the money and the wine.

not in a very orderly way, from Gera ; some of whom had geese, or other poultry in their hands, for which it was more than probable they had not paid.

We very soon found, that the kindness of our friend, the chasseur, in providing us with a protector, was by no means a superfluous precaution. Many of the soldiers whom we met, no sooner saw the countryman, who was conducting our baggage on the wheelbarrow, than they exclaimed, " A qui ces coffres ? qu'on les ouvre tout suite \*." On these occasions, our chasseur interposed and said, " Non non ! camarade, ces coffres sont à moi ; ils sont du moins sous ma protection †." This answer generally elicited some indication of discontent ; such as, " Pardi ! camarade, tu es fort heureux. Je parie qu'il y des tresors dedans ‡." A very unfounded conjecture, and which only arose from the circumstance of their not being given up to be plundered. The chasseur not only protected our property, but seemed by no means unwilling that we should add to it ; for he begged that we would help ourselves to any articles in the baggage-waggons, which might strike our fancy. The countryman took him at his word, and enriched his wheelbarrow with several articles of linen ; but I contented myself with taking a brass button out of a small box, which was lying on the ground, and which I long preserved as a memorial of the day's adventure.

Having informed the chasseur, that I was an Englishman, he conversed with me very freely ; and I perceived, that many of his comrades, who had at first passed by without accosting us, when they heard from him that I was an Englishman, turned back, saluted me courteously, and seemed pleased at being able to talk with me : " Ah ! Monsieur est Anglois, à ce que j'apprens. Pour moi, j'aime les Anglois. Après tout, Monsieur, il n'y a que deux nations ; la notre, et vous autres Anglois. A ça, Monsieur, ne trouvez-vous pas qu'il faut que le Roi de Prusse soit bien fou pour oser nous declarer la guerre ? Il auroit du être bien content que l'Empereur le laissât regner dans son Berlin. Mais n'importe : C'est tant mieux pour nous. Combien y a-t-il d'ici à Berlin, Monsieur ? Croyez-moi, Monsieur, nous y serons avant qu'il soit peu §." I had sometimes half a

\* To whom do these boxes belong ? Let them be opened immediately.

† No, comrade ; these boxes belong to me, at least they are under my protection.

‡ Ha ! comrade, you are a lucky fellow. I would lay any wager they contain a treasure.

§ You are an Englishman, Sir, from what I learn. I like the English. After all, Sir, there are but two nations in the world ; the French and you

dozen of these personages conversing with me at once; and when one left me, his place was soon supplied by another.

In several places, a board had been put up, on which was inscribed, in French and German,—“Fürst! Reussisch neutrales territorium.”—“Pays neutre, appartenant au Prince de Reuss \*.” And I remember two or three French soldiers, who had for some time been staring at this inscription, turned round to me, and said, “Monsieur, qu’est ce que cela veut dire? Je croyois que nous étions en Allemagne, et voilà que tout d’un coup nous nous trouvons en Russie †.” I endeavoured to explain to my querist, that he was not in the dominions of the Emperor of Russia, but in those of a much less powerful potentate, the Prince of Reuss. “Le Prince de Reuss! Ma foi, c’est la premier fois que j’entends parler de ce Prince là. Ah, ha! je sais ce que vous voulez dire, Monsieur; c’est un de ces petits princillons, qu’on trouve partout en Allemagne, et sur lesquels l’Empereur d’Allemagne n’a aucun pouvoir! Pardi, nous n’avons point de tels gens chez nous. L’Empereur y mettroit bientôt ordre, Allez. Il n’y rien de tel chez vous non plus, Monsieur; n’est ce pas? Ah, je le crois bien; vous êtes trop sages pour cela, vous autres Anglois ‡.”

I have thought it right to detail these short but authentic specimens of the numerous dialogues in which I bore a part before we reached Gera. Most of the soldiers, who conversed with me, paid many compliments to the English, and seemed to draw a marked distinction between them and every other nation. It is difficult to say, whether their enthusiastic attachment to their leader, their contemptuous detestation of the Prussians, or their confidence as to the

English. Don’t you think, Sir, that the King of Prussia must have lost his senses to dare to declare war? He might have been satisfied that the Emperor should let him reign in his city of Berlin. But it does not signify; it is all the better for us. How far is it from this to Berlin? Depend upon it, Sir, we shall be there before long.

\* This is neuter country, belonging to the Prince of Reuss.

† Sir, What is the meaning of that? I thought we were in Germany, and all of a sudden we find ourselves in Russia.

‡ The Prince of Reuss! Faith, that is the first time I ever heard of such a prince. Ah, ha! I know what you would be at. You mean one of those petty princes who are to be met with all over Germany, and over whom the Emperor of Germany has no power. Faith, we have no such people. The Emperor would soon say to them, “Begone!” There are no such people in your country either. Is it not so? I don’t doubt it. You English have too much sense for that.

successful result of the campaign, were most predominant. I was led to infer, from the general tone of their remarks, that they thought it would be as easy to advance to Berlin, as to return to Paris.

When we arrived near Gera, our chasseur gave each of us a tolerably broad hint, that he expected some indemnity for having quitted his corps, in order to protect us and our baggage. He seemed tolerably satisfied with a Frederick d'or, which was given to him by each of us ; and when we parted, I added some silver, which I believe induced him to see our baggage deposited safely at the principal inn. We ourselves were conducted to the house, at which the Grand Duke of Berg had his head-quarters ; and after ascending the staircase, found ourselves in a kind of antichamber, in which there were a number of French officers in various uniforms. Mr Regel was first ushered into the Grand Duke's apartment ; and, as soon as he quitted it, I was introduced.

It was not without feelings of anxiety that I found myself in the presence of this distinguished personage. I found him standing near a table, on which there was spread a very large map of Germany. Small wooden pegs, thrust through circular pieces of cork, (at least so they seemed to me), were inserted into the names of various places on the map, whilst others were lying loose upon it for the same purpose. I should be very ungrateful if I ever forgot the kind, frank, and prepossessing manner in which his Highness received me. He was dressed in a kind of red velvet habit, bordered with gold ; and as soon as I contemplated his open and expressive countenance, I felt relieved from all embarrassment. After bowing slightly, he begged that I would advance, and told me I had nothing to fear ; that he should merely put some questions to me, which he requested I would answer as correctly as possible. These interrogatories so much resembled those which afterwards were put by Napoleon, that it would be superfluous to state them in detail ; but I recollect that he seemed very anxious to know where Marshal Möllendorf was.

Having ascertained the very few particulars, which I was enabled to state, in regard to the numbers, position, and rumoured intentions of the Prussian army, he concluded by assuring me, that he had no doubt of the correctness of what I had stated ; that he believed I was the person whom I had represented myself to be ; and that he was therefore the more sorry, that it was out of his power to supply me with passports for proceeding on my journey, but that he was willing to do me the only service he could, by sending me to Auma, to be examined by his Majesty the Emperor and King, who, he had no doubt, on hearing my story, would do me that favour, which, had it

been in his own power, he would himself most willingly have granted.

It is impossible to describe how much I felt astonished at this declaration, and how much I was confounded by the unexpected prospect of being thus brought into the presence of the greatest man of the age. Before I had recovered myself, the Grand Duke had rung the bell, and given some orders to his servant; in consequence of which, an officer in (I think) a green uniform entered the room. "Count," said the Grand Duke, "this is a young English gentleman, who has been stopped at the advanced posts." The officer immediately addressed me in English; and, after putting two or three unimportant questions, turned round to the Grand Duke, and said, "Yes, I see he is evidently an Englishman." "Well, Count," said Murat, "as you are going to Auma at any rate, you will be so good as to take this gentleman and his travelling companion with you in the carriage, and cause them to be examined by his Majesty the Emperor and King; telling him, at the same time, that they have already been examined by me, and that nothing occurred, which induced me to form any surmise to their prejudice." He then nodded to me very graciously; and, after bowing profoundly, I left the apartment, accompanied by the officer, and remained in the antichamber, whilst he went to inquire about the carriage and horses.

I soon learned that this gentleman was Count Froberg, (or Mountjoy), grand veneur to the King of Bavaria, who stood very high in the confidence and good graces both of his own Sovereign and of Napoleon.

Whilst waiting for his return, I saw the Grand Duke pass through the antichamber, clad in a sumptuous uniform, with many stars, and leading to a repast a Lady, who, I was informed, was a Princess of Reuss. He stopped for a few minutes, and spoke to a Prussian officer, who had been taken prisoner, I believe, at the battle of Saalfeld. I was not able to hear very distinctly what passed; but I understood him to be taxing the Prussians with temerity, in having attacked a French corps with a very inferior number; adding, that although the Prussians might not love the French, they at least ought to esteem them. After this short conversation, the Grand Duke made a slight inclination of the head, and followed the Princess into the other apartment.

Count Froberg soon afterwards returned, and informed us, that the carriage was ready. We immediately got into it, and set out for Auma.

I found my new companion very kind-hearted and intelligent, a little sanguine and hasty in his temper, but evidently most suscepti-

ble of gratitude and friendship. His countenance was pale, but animated. Our conversation was chiefly carried on in English; and he inquired with much eagerness after his British friends\*. Before we had been many minutes in the carriage, he asked me whether I was acquainted with Lady Louisa Manners, (the present Countess of Dysart), accompanying his inquiry with a cordial encomium. I was unable at that time, (though now more fortunate,) to answer that question in the affirmative; but asked the Count in return, whether he knew her Ladyship's son-in-law, my intimate and excellent friend, Colonel Duff, (now Earl of Fife.) As soon as I mentioned, that I was a friend of Colonel Duff's, he shook me by the hand with the greatest warmth; and our common regard for my distinguished countryman, (a regard in which all who know him so largely sympathize), not only created a link of attachment between us, but mainly tended to render his exertions in my behalf more cordial and more unremitting.

We met, in the dark, a long row of waggons and artillery, at a narrow part of the road, where two carriages could not well pass abreast; and our carriage was obliged to draw up in a field, until these waggons and other conveyances had proceeded. It was in vain that my friend, the Count, dismounted angrily from the carriage, and authoritatively desired the drivers to draw up on one side, and allow our carriage to pass, telling them who he was, where he was going, and that he was expected to sup with the Emperor. They coolly laughed at all his earnestness; and one of them told him, that he was afraid his supper would be very cold before he got to his journey's end.

The Count did not recover his good humour, until some time after we had quitted the scene of our detention. The spectacle around us was most interesting. A number of fires were kindled in various directions, around which we perceived the French soldiers singing, shouting, sleeping, or cooking their victuals.

The Count was remarkably communicative; but without attempting to detail many interesting facts which he narrated, I cannot avoid recording one speech of his, which remained deeply impressed upon my mind.

I mentioned, that I had left the Prussian army in as high spirits, and as confident of victory, as the French; and that I therefore

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\* I had the satisfaction of being presented to his amiable widow, when at Munich, in 1816. The Countess informed me, that her husband had alluded to this adventure, and expressed much kindness towards me; and she was so obliging as to present to me a ring, which had belonged to him.



thought the issue of the contest rather doubtful. "A decisive battle," replied he, "will be fought before many days have elapsed; and I will beat you sixty Napoleons to one, that the victory will be ours. You say that the Prussians are in high spirits; but on what is their confidence grounded? Not surely in respect for the talents of their General,—not on the remembrance of exploits of their own, nor in love for the service in which they are so ill used? The French, on the other hand, adore their leader, who so often has conducted them to victory:—their own past achievements inspire them with confidence in themselves:—they are attached to a service, in which they are well aware, that the meanest and most friendless may acquire reputation and advancement. The Emperor knows their character well, and has employed every means to conciliate affection to his person, as well as to enforce obedience to his authority. No service is permitted to pass unnoticed or unrecompensed. He is endowed with an excellent memory, and is often known to address even a private soldier or subaltern officer, whom he remembers to have seen at Austerlitz or Marengo, reminding them of their former good conduct, and calling upon them to act up to it in future. By such means, he not only captivates the heart of the person so noticed, but excites emulation on the part of all who witnessed such a scene, and who long, by future prowess, to attain a similar distinction. The very institution of the Legion of Honour, which is attainable by all classes, has greatly increased his popularity, and is become a general object of military ambition. In short, I believe I may say, that no General was ever more studious to captivate the affections, and win the confidence of his Army; nor was any ever more successful."

I do not pretend to say, that these are the exact words of Count Froberg, but they express his sentiments without any exaggeration. He cherished a warm attachment for the person and character of Napoleon; but I am persuaded, that his opinion, though somewhat biassed by this feeling, was founded on personal knowledge, as well as on that accurate information, which his rank and station afforded him so many opportunities to acquire.

We arrived at Auma at a very early hour in the morning. The Count alighted from the carriage, and repaired to the house, at which the Emperor's head-quarters were situated. He returned almost immediately, and informed us, that his Majesty had retired to rest; but added, that he would come and let us know, as soon as the Emperor was ready to receive us.

The morning was very cold, and we remained, rather uncomfortably, in the calèche, (the leather in front of which closed but imperfectly,) for upwards of an hour. My friend Mr Regel and I agreed,

that we would not prepare any answers to any questions ; but that, by narrating every circumstance exactly as it occurred, we should avoid every discrepancy, which could excite any suspicion. The Count at last returned, and informed us, that the Emperor was up, and wished to see us. This was to us an anxious moment ; and we descended from the carriage with feelings which I shall not attempt to pourtray. “ You need not be afraid,” said the Count, “ the Emperor wont eat you.” I assured him, that I was not afraid of that, and that he, who had nothing to fear, was shivering from the cold as much as I was. This remark, however, made me summon up more resolution than a youth of sixteen might otherwise have felt under such circumstances. I had reminded Mr Regel, that it was now my turn to be examined first. We walked hastily across the street, and after ascending a staircase, found ourselves in the antichamber, in which there were a number of officers, and where I observed also some materials for breakfast. The Count opened a door, and beckoned me to follow him. I heard him say, “ Voila, Sire, le jeune Anglois, dont je viens de parler à votre Majesté \*.” The door closed as soon as I entered the room. I made a low bow ; and, on raising my eyes from the ground, perceived standing before me a little figure, arrayed in a white night-cap and dressing gown ; an officer in uniform, whom I found to be Marshal Berthier, the Minister at War, was standing by his side. The Emperor stood still, with his arms crossed, and a cup of coffee in his right hand : he surveyed me attentively, and said, “ Qui êtes vous † ?” My reply was, “ Sire, Je suis sujet de S. M. Britannique ‡.” “ D’où venez-vous § ?” “ Sire, Je viens de Gotha en Saxe ; et en me rendant de la Leipzig, j’ai été arrêté par quelques soldats des avant-postes, qui m’ont mené à Gera chez le Grand Duc de Berg ; et S. A. m’a envoyé ici pour avoir l’honneur d’être examiné par V. M. ||” “ Par où êtes vous passé ?” “ Sire, Je suis passé par Weimar, Erfurt, et Jena, d’où n’ayant pas pu procurer des chevaux pour nous conduire plus loin que jusqu’à Gleina” — “ Où est Gleina ? et qu’est que c’est ?”

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\* Behold, Sire, the young Englishman, of whom I have just spoken to your Majesty.

† Who are you ?

‡ Sire, I am a subject of his Britannic Majesty.

§ Where do you come from ?

|| Sire, I come from Gotha in Saxony ; and in going from thence to Leipzig, I was detained by some soldiers of the advanced guard, who brought me to the house of the Grand Duke of Berg, at Gera, and his Highness sent me here to have the honour of being examined by your Majesty.

“Gleina, Sire, est une petite village, appartenante au Duc de Gotha \*.”

Upon hearing that I had passed through these two places, he paused, and then said, “Tracez-moi le plan de votre route †.” He then sat down at a table on which a map of Germany was spread, in every respect similar to the one which I had seen at the Grand Duke’s. Berthier was seated at a smaller table, in the corner of the room, to take notes of what passed. I stood at Napoleon’s left hand, and the Count placed himself exactly opposite. Napoleon, as soon as he had seated himself, placed his right elbow on the table, and leaning his face upon his thumb and forefinger, looked me full in the face, and said, “Quel jour êtes vous parti de Gotha ‡ ?” At that moment, I had forgotten the exact day of our departure ; and knowing the great importance of accuracy in regard to dates, I began to calculate backwards from that day, to the one upon which we left Gotha. This pause, though but a short one, excited the Emperor’s impatience, and he repeated, in rather an angry tone, “Je vous demande, quel jour êtes vous parti de Gotha § ?” His abrupt manner, and a significant look, which I saw him exchange with Berthier, would have very much interrupted my calculation, had I not fortunately at that moment concluded it, and named the exact day of our departure. He then looked for Gotha in the map, and asked me a number of questions as to the strength of the Prussians in that place,—the reports prevalent in regard to their probable movements, &c. He next sought out Erfurt, and inquired whether I had observed any troops in motion between the two places ? He was very minute in his interrogatories with regard to Erfurt. He asked how strong the garrison was there ? I replied, that this was a point which I had not had any opportunity to ascertain. He asked me if I had been at the parade ? I replied in the affirmative. “How many regiments were present ?” Sire, I cannot tell,—the Duke of Brunswick was then at Erfurt, and there seemed to be almost as many officers as soldiers assembled on the parade. “Is Erfurt a well-fortified town ?” “Sire, I know very little about the strength of fortifications.” “Y

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\* Which road did you come by ? Sire, I came by Weimar, Erfurt, and Jena ; from whence, not having been able to procure horses to take us further than Gleina—— “Where is Gleina, and what is it ?” Sire, Gleina is a small village belonging to the Duke of Gotha.

† Trace out the plan of your route.

‡ On what day did you leave Gotha ?

§ I ask you, what day did you leave Gotha ?

a-t-il un chateau à Erfurt \* ?” Upon this point I felt some doubts, but was afraid to plead ignorance again, lest he should imagine that it was feigned. I therefore boldly said, “Oui, Sire, il y a un chateau †.” After inquiring whether I had made any observations on the road between Erfurt and Weimar, he proceeded to question me minutely as to the state of the latter place,—the number of troops quartered there,—the destination of the Grand Duke, &c.

On my mentioning that Jena was the next place at which we stopped, Napoleon did not immediately discover its exact situation on the map. I therefore had the honour to point to it with my finger, and shew him the place at which he so soon afterwards achieved so brilliant and decisive a victory. He inquired who commanded at Jena,—what was the state of the town,—whether I knew any particulars about the garrison, &c. ; and then made similar inquiries with regard to Gleina, and the intervening road.

Having followed up the investigation until the moment when we were arrested, he paused, and looked at me very earnestly. I may here remark, that he put no questions to me in regard to my parentage or situation in life. I presume that these particulars had been fully explained to him by Count Froberg. “Comment ! (said he) voulez-vous que je croie tout ce que vous dites ? Les Anglois ne voyagent pas ordinairement à pied sans domestique, et comme cela—” ‡ (looking at my dress, which consisted in an old box-coat of rough and dark materials, which I had for some time previously only worn as a cover round my legs, when travelling in a carriage, but which I had been glad to resume, as an article of dress, over my other clothes, when obliged to travel on foot.) “Il est vrai, Sire, (I replied,) que cela peut paroître un peu singulier, mais des circonstances impérieuses, et l'impossibilité de trouver des chevaux, nous ont obligés à cette démarche : d'ailleurs, je crois que j'ai dans ma poche des lettres qui prouveront la vérité de tout ce que j'ai dit au sujet de moi-même §.”

I then drew out of the pocket of the old box-coat some letters, which had accidentally lain there since I received them during the preceding year ; and I also produced, from another pocket, some

\* Is there a castle at Erfurt ?

† Yes, Sire, there is a castle.

‡ How, said he, would you have me believe all that you say ? The English do not commonly travel on foot without a servant, and in such a dress.

§ It is true, Sire, that such conduct may appear a little singular ; but imperious circumstances, and the impossibility of procuring horses, have obliged us to take this step ; and I believe I have letters in my pocket which will prove the truth of the account I have given of myself.

communications of a more recent date. When I laid these upon the table, Napoleon pushed them quickly towards Count Froberg, nodding to him at the same time rapidly with his head. The Count immediately took up the letters, and said to the Emperor, whilst opening them, that, from having examined and conversed with me during our journey, he thought he could be responsible for the truth of every thing I had said.

After cursorily glancing through some of the papers, he said, "These letters are of no consequence, and quite of a private nature: for instance, here is one from Mr Sinclair's father, in which, after reminding him of the attention he had paid to the Greek and Latin languages in England, he expresses a hope that the same attention will be bestowed upon the acquisition of the French and German abroad."

Napoleon's features here relaxed into a smile; and I never can forget the kindness with which he eyed me, whilst he said, "*Vous avez donc appris le Grec et le Latin; quels auteurs avez-vous lu \**?"

Not a little surprised at this unexpected question, I mentioned Homer, Thucydides, Cicero, and Horace; upon which he replied, "*C'est bien, c'est fort bien †*;" and then turning to Berthier, he added, "*Je ne crois pas, que ce jeune homme soit espion; mais l'autre, qui est avec lui, le sera, et aura amené ce jeune homme avec lui pour être moins suspect ‡*." He then made a slight inclination of the head, as a signal for me to retire; upon which I bowed profoundly, and passed into the antichamber; after which, Mr Regel was introduced.

This was the first and last occasion on which I ever beheld Napoleon. The expression of his countenance remains indelibly present to my mind; it was at that time thin and sallow; but every feature beamed with intelligence. I was more particularly struck with the penetrating glance of his eye, which seemed, if I may so express myself, to anticipate the answer to every question, by reading it intuitively in the soul. His manner was at first somewhat repulsive and abrupt, but became gradually softer, and in the end quite prepossessing. There were several words, which I felt some difficulty to express in French; amongst which, I remember, were "baggage-waggons" and "wheelbarrow." He himself, however, immediately

\* You have then learnt Greek and Latin; what authors have you studied?

† That is good, very good.

‡ I do not think this young man is a spy, but the other who is with him is probably one, and has brought this young man to avoid suspicion.

suggested the appropriate terms ; and it appeared to me, that nothing could surpass the lucid and comprehensive nature of all his questions and remarks. He omitted nothing that was necessary, and asked nothing that was superfluous. I entered his apartment under the impression, that I was allowed to appear before the greatest man of the age. My prejudices against him, I must admit, were very strong. I considered him as the implacable enemy of my country, and the restless subjugator of Europe ; but I could not quit his presence without admiring the acuteness of his intellect, and feeling the fascination of his smile \*.

After descending the staircase, I repaired to a kind of bonfire, which was burning not far from the house, and around which there were a number of French soldiers ; some of whom were sleeping, and some conversing with much noise and gesticulation. One of the latter, who was leaning his head upon his elbow, eyed me very contemptuously, and, addressing me in the very same words which Napoleon had used, exclaimed, “ Qui etes vous ? ” Not thinking it necessary to treat him with much ceremony, and supposing that, by such a declaration, I should command some portion of his respect, I drew up, and replied with a frown, “ Je suis étranger, et je viens d’avoir l’honneur d’être examiné par S. M. l’Empereur et Roi †.” This, however, did not produce the desired effect ; for the soldier only looked at me still more indignantly, and exclaimed, “ Pardi, on voit bien que c’est à présent tems de guerre : en tems de paix, tu ne pourrois pas t’approcher de l’Empereur de trois cens pas ‡.” He then turned his head away, and no farther notice was taken of me, either by him or by any of the others.

Mr Regel, in the mean time, was examined by the Emperor, and returned nearly similar answers to nearly similar queries ; but when he stated, that private affairs had rendered us anxious to reach Leipzig without delay, Napoleon interrupted him, and said, What private affairs could be of sufficient importance to make you resolve upon passing through two hostile armies ? I can’t conceive that *private* affairs *alone* could have induced you to take this step. Mr Regel replied, that we were provided with the necessary passports for passing through the Prussian army, without any molestation ; and that, with respect to the French, we had no expectation of falling into their

\* It is a circumstance not unworthy of remark, that, of the four individuals present at this interview, I am now the only survivor.

† I am a stranger, and I have just had the honour of being examined by the Emperor.

‡ Pardi ! It is pretty apparent that this is the time of war. In time of peace you would not be permitted to approach the Emperor by 300 paces.

hands ; for we supposed, that they were advancing in a quite opposite direction ; nay, he believed, that such was the opinion of the Prussians, and of the Duke of Brunswick himself. Napoleon then exclaimed with a smile, “ Ces sont des perruques. Ils se sont furieusement trompés \*.”

As soon as Mr Regel's examination was over, Napoleon said to Count Froberg, “ Retenez les quelques jours, jusqu'à ce que quelque chose de décisif sera arrivé ; et puis renvoyez-les †.”

Mr Regel then joined me in the street. We repaired to a kind of public-house in the neighbourhood, and entered one of the rooms. We here found many soldiers lying upon chairs, or stretched on the floor : bottles, glasses, spilt wine and beer, fragments of victuals, &c. lay in confusion on the table ; the odour and appearance of the whole apartment were equally offensive and disgusting. I threw open one of the windows, and sat there in the hope that I might still have an opportunity to see my friend Count Froberg ; nor was I disappointed ; for, in about an hour, he passed within sight of the window. On my calling to him, he came to me immediately ; and having predetermined what to say to him, “ My dear Count,” I exclaimed, “ you have been in England ; and acknowledge, that you there met with much kindness and hospitality. I hope, that you will avail yourself of this opportunity (the only one which ever may occur), to shew your gratitude for the attentions you experienced. Pray return to the Emperor, and expostulate with him upon the cruelty of leaving us in this forlorn place ; more especially as we have fallen into his hands upon neutral ground, and without any evil design. I hope that his Majesty will at any rate permit us to return to Gera, where we shall find our baggage, where our situation will be far more comfortable, and where we shall be equally unable to do any mischief, even if such were our intention or our wish.”

The Count readily complied with my request ; and returning almost immediately, informed me, that we had leave to return to Gera, and that the Emperor had added with a smile, “ Quant au jeune homme, dites lui, que je suis fort content de la naïveté des ses réponses ‡.”

The Count kindly accommodated us with the use of the carriage which had brought us to Auma. He himself, I believe, returned on

\* They are blockheads. They have prodigiously deceived themselves.

† Detain them for some days till something decisive has happened, and then dismiss them.

‡ As for the young man, tell him that I am very well pleased with the naïveté of his answers.

horseback. We soon found ourselves in the midst of a long file of waggons and carriages, on many of which were written, "Le Ministre de la Guerre." Cavalry and foot soldiers preceded, followed and surrounded us on every side, and the whole scene was busy, brilliant and impressive.

On arriving at Gera, we put up at the post-house, where we were unable at first to procure beds; the whole house being occupied by persons connected with the *Grande Armée*. Many interesting occurrences took place whilst we continued in this house. I never can forget the sensations with which I saw successive regiments march through the town. They all seemed to be in the highest spirits. Their martial music was more varied and animating than any which I ever heard, either before or since. The cavalry, though perhaps not so well mounted as some other troops which I afterwards saw, was peculiarly striking in their personal appearance; and I could not but admire more particularly the grace, dexterity, and splendid accoutrements of the officers.

I acted, in general, as interpreter at the post-house. Many an officer, of various rank, came in and exclaimed, "Y a-t-il quelqu'un ici qui parle François \*?" And upon my signifying, that I believed I could make myself intelligible in that language, more than one of them replied, "Ah! voilà enfin un homme raisonnable †."

The postmaster's situation was a very trying one, and he conducted himself with much temper and propriety. The most unreasonable and incompatible requests were made to him every moment. There were constant demands for provisions, beds, horses, stabling, hay, corn, &c. when his supplies had long since been in a great measure exhausted. "Faites comprendre à cet Allemand," said an officer of rank, (and this happened repeatedly), "qu'il faut que j'aie un lit ici ce soir ‡." It was in vain that the postmaster conveyed to him, through me, the true but unwelcome intelligence, that he had not a single bed to give him; all the rooms, and even his own, being already occupied by French officers. "Cela n'est pas mon affaire," replied the other. "Que ces officiers s'arrangent le mieux qu'ils pourrout §." "I am an aide-de-camp of Marshal ———, and must have a bed, whatever happens."

Amongst others, my friend Count Froberg authoritatively de-

\* Is there any one here who speaks French?

† Ah! here is at last a man of sense.

‡ Make that German understand that I must have a bed here to-night.

§ That is no business of mine. Let those officers make themselves as comfortable as they can.



manded lodgings. The postmaster shrugged up his shoulders, and exclaimed, "*So muss ich ein fürstliches Zimmer aufmachen !*" and he at last gave up some apartments, reserved, as I understood, for the accommodation of one of the sovereign princes of Reuss. The Count was so obliging as to procure one of these rooms for my use during one night. The next morning he also obtained permission for us to reside on parole at the house of Mr Weissenborn, a friend of Mr Regel's, who resided a little way beyond the town, and who received us with the greatest kindness. He held a very respectable situation under the Prince of Reuss, and behaved, in very trying circumstances, with great firmness and urbanity \*. His house had been several times plundered ; but before we came and brought our baggage there, a guard had been stationed for its protection. Mr W. not only had several officers and soldiers quartered successively in his house, but was constantly annoyed by demands for rations, forage, &c. Amid all his difficulties, I never saw him lose his temper, though many circumstances occurred to irritate and annoy him. I was informed, that many of the houses in the neighbourhood were plundered in the most wanton manner ; that the locks were sometimes forced open, even when the keys were tendered to the marauders ; that they often broke bottles of vinegar, when disappointed in their expectation of finding wine ; and that scenes were everywhere exhibited of wasteful and unfeeling outrage.

We here received the bulletins of the progress of the French army with great regularity, and heard from the top of a church the distant sounds of the cannonade of the fatal battle of Jena. Nor was it possible to reflect without shuddering, that every report, which faintly reached our ears, indicated the continuance of slaughter and desolation, and would cause the tears of the widow to flow, and the heart of the orphan to bleed.

I learned with more sorrow than surprise the event of this decisive action, by which the chains of Germany were, for a time, more strongly rivetted than ever. I shall not attempt to describe our own silent consternation, or the triumphant enthusiasm of the French troops, with whom we had an opportunity to converse, whilst they were eagerly advancing to join their victorious comrades.

The French commandant at Gera delayed for several days, under various pretexts, to furnish us with passports ; but I at length contrived to see him ; and, after reminding him that his orders were to detain us, until something decisive had taken place, I asked him whe-

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\* I again experienced a most kind reception from my worthy friend, when I revisited Germany in 1816.

ther this had not already been realized to the greatest possible extent? He laughed, and told me, that he believed I could not now do any harm, if I were ever so willing. He accordingly signed my passport, and we set out as soon as possible for Altenburg, where I parted from my friend Mr Regel, and proceeded alone to Dresden.

I here experienced a very civil reception from the French commandant, Col. Thiard; but although I might detail many circumstances which I remember with peculiar interest, and which might not be devoid of importance in the eyes of the reader, I think it more advisable here to close the narrative of events, which I have perhaps recorded with too much minuteness, but which afford to me a never-failing source of varied and pleasant retrospection.

G. S.

*Some Remarks, by a Friend, on the Results to be drawn from this Narrative.*

The circumstances above detailed are peculiarly interesting, as they furnish an insight into the private character and military system of an individual, who will always be so highly distinguished in history, as the late Emperor of the French.

1. They afford a remarkable proof of the energy with which Napoleon conducted his military operations. This gave him a great advantage over the Duke of Brunswick, and the other warriors of the old school. It appears that the Prussians had not the least conception of the rapid advance he had made, nor of the line of march he had adopted. They were quite unprepared, therefore, to meet with effect so formidable an enemy.

2. The incidents above detailed enable us also to form some idea, of the pains which Napoleon took to collect information. Every person likely to furnish useful intelligence was examined by the Emperor himself. The best maps of the countries through which the Army was to pass were procured, and were constantly kept under his own eye, and that of his principal Generals. Indeed, the French have always been celebrated for their attention to this important particular.

3. Nothing has excited more astonishment, than the regularity with which Napoleon contrived to march great numbers of troops, along different roads, and to have them all ready, at particular points, at a fixed time. Among the means by which this was effected, one of the most remarkable was, that of having pieces of cork, with wooden pegs, inserted in the places in the maps where the different corps were ordered to be. The Emperor thus saw, with a single glance, in what manner his army might at any time be arranged. The whole

of its operations were thus regulated *like a game of chess* : and thus he could easily carry his favourite principle into effect, “ That the art of war was nothing else, than the art of assembling, at a given point, a larger body of men than your enemy.”

4. The military and private character of Napoleon, from the circumstances above detailed, appears in a favourable light. His activity, in rising at four o'clock in the morning, to arrange with Marshal Berthier the proceedings of the campaign, does him great credit as a commander. The questions he put to the young man brought before him, prove his quickness and capacity. The generous manner in which he conducted himself, when he found that he had before him a prisoner, who was respectably connected, well educated, and conversant in classical knowledge, does him great credit. The readiness with which he conjectured, after being satisfied of the young Englishman's innocence, that his German companion might nevertheless be a spy, and might have brought him merely as a blind, showed great quickness of intellect. His orders to set them at liberty, as soon as any thing decisive had happened, was, considering the suspicious circumstances in which they appeared, an act of great kindness : and his concluding message to the young prisoner, amidst the hurry of such pressing and important events, proves, that he was not devoid of generous feelings :

“ Dites à cet jeune homme, que je suis fort content de la naïveté des ses responses.”

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### No. III.

#### ON THE ATTENTION PAID BY FREDERICK THE GREAT TO AGRICULTURE.

*From Baron Riesbeck's Travels through Germany. Translated  
by the Rev. Mr Maty.*

I was told an anecdote, which does the Great Frederick more honour than the Emperor of China derives from opening the ground with a silver plough. There is a Privy Councillor here, of the name of Brenkenhoff, a man who, born without a penny, has made himself worth millions by his industry. This gentleman, some years since, distinguished himself by his improvements in agriculture. Amongst other things, he sent for rye from Archangel ; which succeeded so well, that by degrees they begged his seeds all through Pomerania, Silesia, Brandenburg and Prussia ; and the country gained consi-

derable sums, which before used to be paid to the Poles and Russians for that commodity. In consequence of this, whenever Mr Brenkenhoff has any thing to ask of the King, for himself or the province, he always couches his request in the following manner :

“ Had I not brought rye from Archangel, your Majesty, and your subjects, would have been without so many thousands you now possess ; it is therefore proper that you grant me my request.”

The King *not only makes it a rule* never to deny him any thing he asks, but has often said, “ *Brenkenhoff is the most extraordinary man born in this country, under my administration, and I am proud of him.*”

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#### No. IV.

EXTRACTS OF A LETTER FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SIR DAVID STEWART, TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, BART. DATED GOVERNMENT-HOUSE, ST LUCIA, 20TH NOVEMBER 1829, REGARDING THE STATE OF THE WEST INDIES IN GENERAL, AND IN PARTICULAR OF ST LUCIA.

“ I have much pleasure in availing myself of an opportunity to offer you, in my own name, and in behalf of the landed proprietors of this colony, our warm acknowledgments for your valuable communication regarding the cassada mill ; an important object in this island, as that root forms a very material portion of the food of the negroes and coloured people ; and an improvement that will lessen the labour of manufacture must be a great and essential acquisition, especially in the West Indies, where the expense of manual labour is so great ; while each individual works so little, that one Scotch ploughman or labourer, will go through more than three men here can do.”

“ Indeed, it is the expensive labour, and the little work done by each person, that presses with such weight on a West India planter. With a soil so productive, that, with average prices, an acre of good land will produce sugar to the value of thirty, forty, or fifty pounds, according to the quality of the soil, and the manner of cultivation and management, the profits of the planter would be immense, were it not for the attendant expense of labour. In a country where the labour of an individual is expended on the cultivation of an acre of sugar-

cane, the disposable or clear profit in a year of bad crops, is often very small. You know that the ground is laboured here with the hoe and the hand \*. Before I arrived, I intended to establish ploughs where the ground would admit, and thus reduce the expense of labour and cultivation ; but I find the thing impossible, except in a few places. The island is entirely composed of glens and valleys, of more or less breadth, some as narrow as four or five hundred yards, with side hills, rocky and steep. The broadest valley is a mile and a half ; and, in two points of the island, the land descends in a regular declivity, so as to form an inclined plane. Each glen having a stream, and the overhanging hills and rocks, being covered with woods of the highest and greatest variety of verdure, the scenery is beautiful. These valleys have in general a peculiarity : The plain or flats are a dead level, and the hills on either side rising abruptly. The levels being subject to excessive floods, are consequently composed of a deep alluvial soil or clay, remarkably tenacious and adhesive, readily receiving and retaining all moisture, so that, in the wet season, horses not only sink deep, but so close does the clay stick to their legs, that they have great difficulty in withdrawing them ; consequently, when the ground is in this state, no horse or plough can be used ; and, from the nature of this clay, it hardens so much in the dry season, that it would be nearly as easy to plough a field of tar-ras, or plaster. This soil has another peculiarity preventing the use of the plough. Though the water from the clouds sinks perpendicularly, the clay is of so close a consistence, that it cannot pass through horizontally ; the consequence is, it cannot be drained except by open ditches to carry off the surface water, for a ditch of three or four feet in depth will not dry more than two or three feet on each side ; and, being so level, there is no run for the drainage. Looking to all these circumstances, I must give up thoughts of the plough, except in some of the higher and lighter lands. But to return to the cassada bread, which the negroes prefer to any other farinaceous

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\* Looking out of the window this moment, I see in a field half a mile distant, upwards of one hundred men and women, each with a hoe, turning up the soil preparative to the planting of the cane. Three good ploughs, each with a pair of horses, would do more work than this large body of people. While such a waste of labour is lamentable, it is gratifying to see the appearance of comfort the people exhibit. All the women with white or calico short gowns and petticoats, and various head coverings, and the men with blue or light coloured jackets and trowsers ; the field, at this distance, exhibits a gay and enlivening sight, with so many moving objects, more especially if within hearing of their jokes, talk and singing.

food : It is cultivated in great quantities, but the labour in manufacture is, as you justly observe, very considerable. Several attempts have been made to lessen the labour, by various kinds of machinery. On three estates, the proprietors have erected small water mills for reducing the root to a pulp, and I have been endeavouring to get a small apparatus attached to the mill that grinds the sugar canes ; but as this can only be done in certain situations, the machines you propose will answer the purpose extremely well, especially among the numerous small settlers in the woods and mountains, who raise such quantities of cassada, and to whom a cheap machine of this kind will be most useful. I have therefore strongly recommended it, and have sent home for two, and, when they are put in use, and made known, others will supply themselves. I have also ordered a grubber and revolving harrow \* by way of experiment ; but I fear that the causes I have mentioned, of the tenacity of the soil in wet weather, and excessive hardness in the dry season, will prevent the general use of those instruments, which, in different circumstances, would be so proper. I shall take special care to pay strict attention to your suggestions regarding the improvement in boiling sugar, and distilling rum ; next to the cultivation of the soil, two of the most important objects of a planter's attention. They rear a number of cattle in this island, sufficient to supply themselves ; and Colonel Hamilton, late Secretary to the Highland Society, has established a regular traffic in cattle, horses and mules, by means of steam vessels, between the Spanish Main, and Trinidad, and other islands. He has sent me a very beautiful jet black stallion, which I think will improve the breed in this island ; and I have requested of General Ponsonby, the Governor of Malta, and Major Mackay, (of Reay,) to send two male and two female asses of the Maltese breed, the largest and finest in the world. A planter of the name of De Brette, in this island, intends to keep thirty brood mares, for horses and mules."

" Now, my dear and patriotic Sir, you see how much I benefit by reading your works, and how anxious I am to follow the plans you suggest, and to make myself useful in the station and duties where his Majesty has placed me ; and I hope that the account received of me, will be such as will not cause you, and the Earl of Glasgow, and the great body of my kind friends, who did me so much honour on leaving my native country, to think that they have not been mistaken. Had no other motive or consideration existed, that of itself

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\* These two instruments would be invaluable in such a soil, but they would require great strength of cattle to use them effectually.

is sufficient cause for exertion, and to prove myself deserving of the honour you did me on that day. There is a fine field for improvement in this island, if there was money ; but no colony has suffered so much during the last war ; and were it not for the industry of the people, the country would be ruined and waste. I am now attempting to revive the spirits of the people, and to promote improvements ; and they are certainly most willing and obedient. Indeed, I am quite surprised at the deference and respect they show to my opinions, and the cheerfulness with which they adopt my suggestions, and follow up my plans of improvement, so far as their limited means and former losses will admit. Eleven churches were burnt by the Republicans. They were handsome and well built. General Laborie, a French Engineer and Governor, from 1783 till the Revolution, opened a road round the island 147 miles. It has been totally neglected since the year 1790, and there was not a mile of cart road, or a stone bridge in the country, except where proprietors in some places made roads to carry their sugar to the sea side."

" I commenced five months ago. A considerable sum has been collected for building Protestant and Catholic churches. Roads are repairing in all directions. Six malleable iron bridges are ordered from home, and as many more next year. A new wharf has been contracted for, and to be finished in six months. Though frequently deluged with rain, there is no good water near Castries. Pipes for conducting spring water are sent for. One jail is to be enlarged, and a new one must be built in a part of the island, where, till lately, there was no call for any restraint or punishment. The poor people were quiet, and contented, and obedient."

" Three new beneficial laws have been passed, and I am soon to commence on a new criminal code. I find my superficial knowledge of the Scotch law, and of the forms and practice of our Courts, of great use, for the similarity between the laws of France and Scotland is remarkable. Indeed, the forms of process and all proceedings have the same foundation, that is, in the civil law. The criminal laws are quite different, and must be completely changed. They are to be the same as in Scotland,—a jury of fifteen, and a majority to carry ; and thus to avoid the absurdity of compelling twelve men to swear that they are of one opinion, whether they are so or not."

" Did I not know well the warm interest you take in every thing that tends to improvement of every kind, I would not give you such a detail as this, which only such as you would take the trouble to read. But when I have given you this detail, I beg leave to add a request, that you will favour me with such suggestions as you may see necessary, to help me through my present objects and arduous

undertakings,—arduous only for want of men and money ; for with a reduced population, and those who remain, in comparatively reduced circumstances, to carry on public works, and expensive improvements, is no easy matter.”

“ I have made your work on longevity known to numbers here. Providence is kind to the people in making them apparently indifferent about life. Though frequently subject to the sudden attacks of the most fatal diseases, people laugh, and talk, and drink, and eat, and dance, as if they had nothing to dread ; and not only unnecessarily expose themselves to danger, but take no precaution to prevent sickness. And strange as it appears, such books as yours will be read with more attention and benefit at home, than in this comparatively unhealthy climate.”

“ The garrison is remarkably healthy at present ; no officer sick but myself, since I came in January. Myself and all my servants had a violent attack of fever, but all recovered. The climate was different when I was here in 1796. The 31st Regiment lost Colonel Adam Hay and Robert Arbuthnot, both, I believe, from Edinburgh, 21 officers, and 738 soldiers, between the 14th of May and the 2d of December ; and Colonel Drummond, brother of Lord Strathallan, 26 officers, and 691 men of the 27th Regiment, died in eight months. If I could recommend this climate, what delightful retreats would the beautiful glens and hills in this island make for thousands of our Highlanders ? The fields, once in high cultivation, but now abandoned, would produce as much cassada as would support *ten persons per acre* ; so that, with a few acres for each family, they might live in ease and independence, if the climate permitted \*.”

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## No. V.

### APHORISMS, MORAL AND POLITICAL,

*By Thomas Watson, Bp. of Llandaff.*

[ *The number at the end of each Aphorism, refers to the page in the volume.* ]

1. No solid reason can be given, why any man should derive honour or infamy, from the station which his ancestors filled in civil society.—3.

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\* Writing as to health and longevity, I may mention, that in the neighbouring island of St Vincent's, in sight of this, Mr Robert Gordon, aged 91, and 72 years in the West Indies ; Mr Daniel Macdowall, 82 years, 55 of which in St Vincent's ; Dr Brown, 72 ; Dr Melville, 74 ; Mr William Hepburn, 72 ; Mr J. Nicholls, 69, all died in that island since the 1st July last. With all these gentlemen I was well acquainted when in St Vincent's, during the Caraib war in 1797.



2. Erasmus, in his little treatise, entitled, "Anti-barbarorum," says that the safety of estates depends upon three things,—upon a proper or improper education of the prince, upon public preachers, and upon schoolmasters; and he might with equal reason have added, upon mothers; for the care of the mother precedes that of the schoolmaster, and may stamp upon the *rasa tabula* of the infant mind, characters of virtue and religion which no time can efface.—14.

3. Our opinions on many important subjects are formed as much on prejudice as reason; and when an opinion is once taken up, it is seldom changed, especially in matters not admitting any criterion of certainty.—22.

4. In all seminaries of education, relaxation of discipline begins with the seniors of the society.—36.

5. Great are the public evils, and little the private comforts attending interested marriages; when they become general, they not only portend, but bring on a nation's ruin.—45.

6. Books never made a great statesman; and business has made many; yet books and business, combined together, are the most likely to enlarge the understanding, and to complete that character.—80.

7. The bulk of mankind is ever more the creature of prejudice than of reason.—92.

8. The Clergy have a professional bias to support the powers that are, be they what they may; but this bias may proceed as much, from the moderation and forbearance inculcated by the general tendency of their studies, as from the more obvious imputation of interested motives.—93.

9. I look upon the improvement of the understanding, by a free communication of sentiments, with a candid and intelligent friend, as one of the greatest blessings on this side of the grave.—106.

10. It is better to bask in the sun, and suck a fortuitous maintenance from the scanty drippings of the most barren rock in Switzerland, with freedom for our friend, than to fatten as a slave, at the most luxurious table of the greatest despot on the globe.—122.

11. A sober attachment to theoretic principles of political truth cannot be an improper ingredient in a social character, either in this world or in the next.—123.

12. Every system of public administration, carried on by means of parliamentary corruption, however sanctioned by time, precedent or authority, is absolutely unjustifiable upon every principle of good sense, and sound policy ; and is as dishonourable to the upright intentions of the Crown, as it is burdensome to the property, and dangerous to the liberty of the people.—127.

13. A Minister would want common sense, to run any risk in taking upon himself responsibility for obnoxious measures, when he could secure the consent of Parliament to almost any measure he might propose.

14. Wealth and power are but secondary objects of pursuit to a thinking man, especially to a thinking Christian.—154.

15. To forget all benefits, and to conceal the remembrance of all injuries, are maxims by which political men lose their honour, but make their fortunes.—173.

16. It is a great happiness in our Constitution, that when the aristocratic parties in the Houses of Parliament, flagrantly deviate from principles of honour, there is integrity enough still remaining in the mass of the people, to counteract the mischief of such selfishness or ambition.—174.

17. No change ought ever to be made in quiet times, till the utility of the change was generally acknowledged.—175.

18. The mode of governing by influence, is a dangerous and disgraceful mode ; disgraceful to those over whom it is exerted, and dangerous to the commonweal, inasmuch as it takes away all responsibility. When a Minister can sanction every obnoxious measure by a vote of the House of Commons, he screens himself from all future censure, by making those who ought to be his accusers, partakers of his misdemeanours.—205.

19. The voice of the people, whenever it can be clearly known, is, and ought to be, supreme in the State.—210.

20. Whoever is afraid of submitting any question, civil or religious, to the test of free discussion, is more in love with his own opinion than with truth.—207.

21. Without some effectual stop being put to the increasing influence of the executive, over the legislative part of the Constitution, the liberty of Britain must expire as that of Rome did. The forms of the Constitution will remain,—its substance will exist no more.—222.

22. He who examines only one side of a question, and gives his judgment, gives it improperly, though he may be on the right side. But he who examines both sides, and after his examination gives his assent to neither, may surely be pardoned this suspension of judgment, for it is safer to continue in doubt than to decide amiss.—227.

23. Every man should contribute his due proportion to the maintenance of the ministers of religion, (for no State can subsist without some religion); and a Christian State should allow a co-establishment of the different sects of Christians, that each individual might have an opportunity of frequenting his own place of worship, without being burdened by any additional payment to his own minister, exclusive of what he paid to the minister established by the State.—245.

24. The revenue raised by the authority of the State from all its subjects, for the express purpose of instructing all in religion, is unjustly expended in instructing a small part of the whole.—251.

25. Every man ought to obey, not government, but his conscience, in his mode of worshipping God.

26. When numbers of men obstruct the regular course of law, and overpower the ordinary officers of justice, it is right to introduce and to use, as long as the necessity of the case requires it, extraordinary ones.

## No. VI.

## EVIDENCE TO PROVE THAT THE CELEBRATED AIR, CALLED "GRAM-MACHREE MOLLY," WAS COMPOSED IN SCOTLAND.

By the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair.

From the very style of the music, there is every reason to believe that this celebrated air was composed in Scotland ; for it possesses all that tenderness and simplicity, by which the Scottish songs are so peculiarly distinguished. That point, however, seems now to be established beyond the possibility of doubt, by the evidence that was given by a very old man, John Macdonald, who was born near Kingsburgh, in the isle of Skye, in the year 1726, and who, on the 20th of December 1819, was about ninety-three years of age, when he gave the following evidence : John Macdonald remembers, when he was about twelve years old, having learnt that air, which in Gaelic is called "*Mhalic Cheag og*," from a native of Breadalbane, who went about singing songs ; and he recollects distinctly having heard that air sung by him an. 1738. The tune, he was informed, was owing to the following incident :

During King William's wars on the Continent, soon after the Revolution, it was usual, at the end of the campaign, for both armies to retire into winter quarters ; and numbers, both of the men and the officers, got leave of absence to go home to see their friends. Among others who availed themselves of this privilege was a young Highland officer, whose relations lived in the upper parts of Perthshire. He visited about in that district, and entertained his friends by talking about the battles in which he had fought, and the wonderful events he had witnessed ; and he every where met with the most cordial reception. He was at last invited to the house of a gentleman, who had an only daughter, whose beauty was the universal theme of admiration. He there recorded his martial feats, which made an impression on the young lady ; which the gallant soldier soon perceived, and he contrived to settle a plan with her, for their eloping together at midnight. They got off unperceived ; and having travelled several miles, they at last came to an inn, where they thought they might refresh themselves in safety. The enraged father, however, as soon as he had discovered his daughter's flight, assembled his men, and pursued them with such speed and eagerness, that he overtook them soon after they got into the inn. The lover, though he had no-

body to support him, yet was determined not to yield up his mistress ; and being well armed, and an excellent swordsman, he resolved to resist any attack made upon him. When the party pursuing entered the inn, his mistress ran for protection behind him ; and when he was defending himself and her with his sword, which was a very heavy one, and loaded with what is called a steel-apple, (in Gaelic “ *Uaghal an a chlaibh* ) \*, in preparing for giving a deadly stroke, the point of his sword accidentally struck his mistress, then behind him, so violent a blow, that she instantly expired at his feet.

Upon seeing what had happened, he immediately surrendered himself, saying, “ *That he did not wish to live, his earthly treasure being gone.*” When in prison, he composed both the air and the words ; and the dreadful scene he had just witnessed, and of which he was the sole cause, would naturally call forth, in an ardent mind, the most melancholy effusions of music and of poetry. He was executed the next day.

These events happened a number of years before John Macdonald first heard the air sung in the isle of Skye, which was in the year 1738. They are said to have taken place in the wars after the Revolution ; and this circumstance is alluded to in the well-known line, “ Will you go to Flanders my Molly, O ?”

This account was drawn up by the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart. from the evidence given by the said aged man, John Macdonald, in George Street, Edinburgh, on the 20th of December 1819.

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## No. VII.

In looking over some old papers, I found the subjoined. It gives a curious account of a most interesting political event, and seems to have been drawn up by a person who was well acquainted with the transactions to which it relates. There may be some mistakes in it ; but in the main, it is probably true.

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\* The steel-apple was a piece of steel, that ran on a wheel from the hilt to the top, and gave great additional force to the stroke when it came down to the point. John Macdonald, many years ago, saw one of these swords at Lord Macdonald's house at Mugstedt. The circumstance of the steel-apple is a strong proof of the authenticity of the story, as it must have greatly added to the weight of the blow given by the sword, and consequently accounts for the fatal catastrophe.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH PRODUCED THE  
OVERTHROW OF MR PITT'S ADMINISTRATION, IN MARCH 1801.

It is well known that Mr Pitt had completely failed in effecting a union with Ireland, the first time he attempted to carry through that measure, and had quarrelled with Mr Foster the Speaker, Sir John Parnell, and several of the leading men of business in that country, which rendered the success of a second attempt extremely doubtful. Considering, however, his honour implicated in it, and having been accused of rashness in making, or timidity in relinquishing the attempt, he determined to accomplish it, cost what it would, *and not to hesitate about the terms*, provided he could carry his point. Hence, in addition to the most profuse, varied, and extensive system of corruption ever heard of, he was induced to agree, that the members for Ireland should be increased, from 60, (the number originally intended,) to 100. The representations of his old friends, the Yorkshire manufacturers, were treated with little ceremony or respect ;—and at last it was found necessary, to hold out *hopes of emancipation* to the Catholics, though no positive pledge was given to them.

It is much disputed, whether this understanding with the Catholics, was known to the King, or to the Cabinet in general ; but Mr Pitt, Lord Cornwallis, and Lord Castlereagh, considered themselves so far pledged to it, and the measure in itself so necessary for the preservation of Ireland, that Mr Pitt insisted, that a recommendation to that effect should be inserted in his Majesty's first speech to the Imperial Parliament. To this the King would not agree ; and the disputes about it, occasioned that delay in the assembling of the two Houses, at the commencement of the present session, which seemed so unaccountable.

There was, at the same time, a great jealousy among the Irish statesmen, for the patronage of their own country. Lord Clare and Mr Beresford wanted to get rid of Lord Castlereagh, who, they found, had more influence with Mr Pitt than they had ; and being accustomed to intrigues, they contrived, through the medium of the Archbishop of Canterbury, (Lord Auckland's brother-in-law), and others, to blow up the flame. Their object was, partly to shake Lord Castlereagh's power, and partly to get rid of the Catholic emancipation, which they considered to be a dangerous measure. These intrigues, also, were much aided by Lord Liverpool, in hopes that it would bring forward his favourite son, Lord Hawkesbury. Mr Pitt, therefore, found a much greater resistance to his proposal of emancipation than he had at all anticipated ; and being unaccustomed to

have any favourite measure thwarted or controlled, he thought, that the best mode of obtaining his object would be, to threaten to give in his resignation, little dreaming that it would ever be accepted of. The King, however, had made it a matter of conscience to resist the measure, and had even canvassed several members of both Houses to oppose it in Parliament, that he might not be under the disagreeable necessity of giving it the royal negative, which he had resolved on, if the bill had passed both Houses. In vain Mr Secretary Dundas endeavoured to convince him, that it was not contrary to his coronation oath. His answer was, "that he wanted none of his Scotch sophistry, and that it was better for him to change his ministers, than his religion." Other causes may have contributed to sour the King's mind, and to sow dissensions in the Cabinet; but had it not been for the Catholic question, they would never have gone to any great extremity.

Mr Pitt and his friends had deceived themselves with an opinion, that the King would never be able to form an administration, without either them, or the opposition, who were as much pledged to the Catholic emancipation as themselves; and they were pretty sure, that he could not bear the idea, of bringing Mr Charles Fox into power. But his Majesty had seen, of late, a good deal of Mr Henry Addington; and having formed a very high opinion both of his character and talents, he sent for him to Buckingham-House, with a view, as Mr Pitt and Mr Addington supposed, that the latter might act as a mediator to reconcile all differences; but to Mr Addington's utter astonishment, his Majesty positively insisted on his accepting the office of Prime Minister, an offer which at first he certainly declined, and at last reluctantly agreed to, only under this condition, that the plan, when communicated to Mr Pitt, should meet with his concurrence and support. This Mr Pitt was obliged to promise, though, it is said, with a very bad grace, as the proposal was entirely unlooked for. Trusting, however, that the matter might yet be made up, or that some accident might still happen, favourable to his remaining in office, he suggested the propriety of his opening the budget, and carrying through the tax bills, previous to his resignation; and as he had prepared all the steps necessary for that purpose, and as it was not a very agreeable business to undertake, Mr Addington very readily agreed to it.

The unexpected illness of the King had nearly accomplished what Mr Pitt had really aimed at by the delay; and a regency was at one time in contemplation, in which he was to have held a very conspicuous place; but the King's complete recovery put an end to all

those delusive hopes, and he was at last compelled, however reluctantly, to resign his situation.

It may at first sight seem unaccountable, how the whole frame of administration should have been broken to pieces and dissolved, merely by the agitation of the Catholic question. But even small causes sometimes produce the most important effects ; and questions of little real moment, (as a trifling duty on tea in America, &c.) may occasion the most unlooked-for revolutions. It is well known also, that Lord Spencer, whose support gave such additional strength to government, had often expressed a desire to retire, and he became extremely anxious to relinquish his official situation when there was an opening for it. Lord Grenville also, had several times hinted, that he should be glad to return to his literary occupations, and to private life ; and even Mr Dundas found his zeal for public employment much abated, by the state of his health. The Duke of Portland and Lord Loughborough, supported the King in the question of emancipation, and intended to remain in their former situations, in which, however, they were ultimately disappointed ; and when a change came to be inevitable, Mr Pitt naturally thought, that it was much more for his interest, to have an old friend in power, than a number of inveterate enemies, from whose inquiries into the transactions of his administration, he had little to expect, but vexatious results.

It is impossible to foresee, what will be the effect of the changes which have taken place. Much will depend on the chapter of accidents. If the new Ministers make peace, they certainly may stand their ground ; but if the war continues, and it is unsuccessful, it will give opposition a better prospect of success than they have hitherto enjoyed. It is very improbable, that the new and the old Ministers can long continue cordial friends. The support of the old, depends upon the members of the new administration adopting their measures, and following their plans, which is too degrading a situation for men of any spirit long to remain in ; and which it is not very probable they can seriously resolve on, after they have had an opportunity of examining the real state of the country, and have seen the carelessness and want of energy, with which the affairs of the nation have so unfortunately conducted.

Thus terminated the administration of the Right Honourable William Pitt, at a time when he seemed to be so rivetted in power, that nothing was likely to overturn him. It is a singular circumstance, that the union with Ireland, which he thought would have confirmed him in office, should have been the immediate cause of his removal,



and that the question of "Catholic Emancipation," which he persevered in bringing forward, should have been the means *of emancipating these kingdoms*, from a government that had become extremely tyrannical in its proceedings, and was peculiarly distinguished by its extravagance, and a waste of the national resources.

His enemies exclaimed in the words of the poet,

————— Quod optanti divum promittere nemo  
Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro.

London, March 1801.

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## HINTS AS TO AUTOGRAPHS.

*By the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart.*

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An interest is certainly excited, by examining the manner in which persons distinguished for rank, science, or talent, subscribe their names ; and hence the anxiety felt by numbers for collecting franks. Some, indeed, have undertaken to judge of the character of an individual, from his subscription ; but to any general rule for that purpose, there must be numerous exceptions. Some take a pleasure in the beauty or neatness of their signature ; while others, for the purpose of preventing forgery, ornament their names with such fantastic flourishes, that it is hardly possible to make them out. It is, however, singular, that the plainest hands are those which it is most difficult to imitate.

It is a common, but very ill-judged practice, to contract the Christian name. In questions before a court of justice, it may sometimes be difficult, where that mode is adopted, to prove the identity of a person, either subscribing a deed, or witnessing the signature. J. Sinclair, for instance, might be John, James, Joseph, or Jacob Sinclair ; and as in the course of any action at law, all doubt respecting the person who actually signed or witnessed a deed must be removed, additional evidence may be required to identify the signature.

Not long ago, it was extremely fashionable to collect autographs ; and a friend of mine, knowing the extensive correspondence I carried on, came all the way from Brighton to Edinburgh, on purpose to get as many signatures as I could spare. As it is at least a harmless object, and as I was first

led to arrange my voluminous correspondence by an application for autographs, I am thence induced, to indulge such of my readers as have engaged in that pursuit, with one hundred signatures, lithographically printed.

There is, in the *Edinburgh Literary Journal*, (No. 28, May 23. 1829), a paper upon autographs, in which that subject is discussed with much ability. After some general observations on the art of writing, it is remarked, that were handwriting studied as a science, it might furnish some interesting discoveries into the character of the writer. It proceeds to observe, that there is a decided difference between the handwriting of females and of males, though both are taught by the same masters, and according to the same rules; the leading feature of the former being feminine delicacy; and of the latter masculine vigour. There is necessarily a material difference between the signature of the same person, when he writes in a gay and careless mood, or under the influence of strong passions. It is likewise remarked, that the handwriting of a young, and of an old person, may always be distinguished.

This paper in the *Journal*, is accompanied by "forty-three" autographs of celebrated authors; and it is there contended, that with two exceptions, there is something in all of them, which more or less indicates the character of their respective authors.

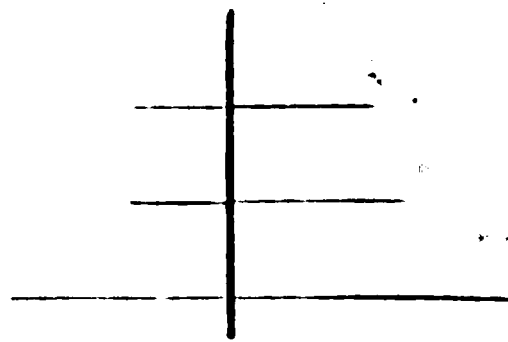
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